

North
trial
cross fire

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Reach out and
TAP someone



Cincinnati's
low-wire act

by Gregory Flannery

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Will Reagan's dirty linen be aired in a North wind?

A three-sided scale of justice for North

By Jim Naureckas

WASHINGTON, D.C.

In the trial of Lt. Col. Oliver North, independent counsel Lawrence Walsh must battle two attorneys: North lawyer Brendan Sullivan and U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh. Thornburgh may be the more formidable opponent, since he can marshal the weight of the entire executive branch in order to frustrate the prosecution.

Thornburgh's aim is not necessarily to clear North of charges stemming from the Iran-contra scandal. The Bush administration seems quite willing to take the former National Security Council official up on his 1986 offer to serve as "fall guy" for the contra operation. But Thornburgh seems intent on ensuring that Ronald Reagan and George Bush are not implicated in wrongdoing by the independent counsel's investigation.

Denied supervision of Walsh by the independent counsel statute, Thornburgh has reasserted control of the

case through the Classified Information Procedures Act (CIPA). This law gives the attorney general sweeping powers to exclude from the trial classified information that he deems vital to national security. By withholding or threatening to withhold crucial documents from the case, Thornburgh has helped protect Bush and Reagan in two important ways.

• By withholding documents, the attorney general forced Walsh in January to drop two counts against North that involved the illegal diversion of Iran funds to the contras. The dropped charges—conspiracy to defraud the government and theft of government property—were the most serious against North. They were also the most potentially damaging to Reagan and Bush, because trying the two charges would have necessitated testimony about whether the current and former presidents approved illegal aid to the Nicaraguan rebels. North now faces several counts on the lesser charges of obstruction of Congress, lying to Congress, obstruction of a presidential inquiry, destroying or falsifying government documents, receipt of an illegal gratuity (the infamous security fence), conversion of government traveler's checks to personal use and tax fraud.

• Thornburgh used the same type of legal arm-twisting in February to win a standoff that gave the administration even more control over the day-to-day use of classified information during the trial. The attorney general now has power to dictate what information the prosecution will try to exclude from the trial, effectively allowing Thornburgh to screen out documents and testimony embarrassing to Reagan or Bush. Walsh originally charged that this interference was "tantamount to firing the independent counsel," but after Thornburgh threatened to use his classification powers to torpedo the remaining 12 counts against North, Walsh backed down.

Walsh now seems resigned to taking what he can get. He appears to have accepted that North must be prosecuted in a way that will limit political damage to the Reagan and Bush administrations. And for his part, Thornburgh has now assured Walsh that the case "will go to trial on the remaining dozen counts."

Courtroom dynamic: But as Thornburgh pressures Walsh, Sullivan pressures Thornburgh. North's combative lawyer is trying to maneuver Thornburgh into a position where, to protect Reagan and Bush, the attorney general will have to shut down the entire case. Sullivan has repeatedly attempted to use classified information to show that North was just a foot soldier in the illegal Iran-contra operation, following orders from the Reagan/Bush White House.

"It's clear that the strategy is to keep pushing for the admission of classified material until Thornburgh forces Walsh to throw in the towel," says Francis Boyle, a law professor at the University of Illinois. The court, despite Thornburgh's best efforts, has authorized Sullivan to introduce 300 documents into the trial—and many of those documents could prove embarrassing to Reagan and Bush. One government official compared Sullivan's strategy to that of a hijacker, telling the *New York Times* that the North defense team has a "plane full of 300 secrets, and they're going to kill one a day until Ollie's set free."

With Sullivan pushing to include classified information, and Thornburgh—with Walsh now in tow—maneuvering to exclude it, Judge Gerhard Gesell has become the pivotal figure in the trial. It is Gesell who has final say over the fate of disputed classified information.

While scrupulously insisting that North be allowed any evidence reasonably connected to his defense, Gesell has so far generally deferred to Thornburgh's judgment on classification issues. The judge's patience may have been exhausted, however, by the government's attempts to block the introduction of documents that have already been made public through the Christic Institute legal foundation's suit against contra associates. Gesell now says that he will disallow any "frivolous" attempts at classification in the future.

But some observers think Gesell is acting too late. These critics argue that the judge has already given too much leeway to the attorney general under CIPA. And they say that the dropped diversion counts against North could have gone forward if the judge had overruled Thornburgh. "Gesell doesn't really dare to push the independent counsel statute to its logical extent," says the

Christic Institute's Danny Sheehan, "because he doesn't feel he has support from the [Reagan appointee-dominated] court of appeals."

Can I tell you a secret? If the bluffing over classified documents is not enough to get the government to fold its hand, Sullivan still has an ace in the hole: North. "When North testifies, he'll probably either get the charges dropped or get cited for contempt," says Jim Drew, a Washington attorney and member of the National Lawyers' Guild. "He'll say certain things that will cause them to jump up and object every 15 minutes." The exact nature of those "certain things" is anyone's guess, but observers speculate that North is prepared to testify that Reagan and Bush played significant roles in the illegal contra-supply operation.

In his legal argument, Sullivan hopes to show that the Reagan administration knew and approved of what North was doing, and thus North did not have "criminal intent" even if his actions violated laws. But this argument is shaky on several counts. "It presupposes that the government cannot commit a crime," says Quinlan Shea, an attorney with the National Security Archive, a non-profit research group. Using this argument, Sullivan would also have to prove that North was specifically instructed to lie and obstruct investigations, even investigations ordered by the president.

Sullivan's argument could conceivably convince a jury to clear North of the lying and obstruction charges. But the defense that "Reagan knew" would not apply to several other charges. "Ultimately Walsh is going to get North on something, if only on the income tax thing," says University of Illinois legal scholar Boyle. "As a former tax lawyer, I don't see how he can get out of that."

Beyond the trial: Assuming North is convicted on at least some of the charges, he would still have the option of appealing. Sullivan would likely appeal on several different grounds, but two paths would seem most probable.

INSIDE STORY

One is to challenge Gesell's handling of classification issues, arguing that the judge withheld something that North needed for an adequate defense. The other is for Sullivan to argue that North did not get a fair trial because he was compelled to testify before the congressional Iran-contra committee. While Walsh has taken pains to protect himself and jurors from North's immunized testimony, all the witnesses testifying at the trial have heard North admit to many acts that he's been charged with.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) entered a brief last year on behalf of North, arguing that such "tainted" testimony may have prejudiced the indictment process. This issue has been put off by the appeals court until after the North trial is completed. "It's possible," says the ACLU's Gary Stern, "that most of the tainted testimony we were concerned about was in respect to the first two counts that were dropped."

Whether North is convicted or acquitted, he will likely remain an important figure in the Iran-contra prosecution effort. After North's legal process is completed he could be compelled to testify against such other defendants as John Poindexter, Richard Secord and Albert Hakim. All four were initially linked by Walsh as conspirators in the Iran-contra diversion. But now that Walsh, under pressure from Thornburgh, has dropped the conspiracy counts against North, observers suspect that the other conspiracy counts will be dropped as well.

And so it appears that none of the main players in the illegal Iran-contra diversion will be tried for the diversion itself. Like Al Capone, who was finally sent to jail not for running the mob but for violating income tax laws, the central figures in the decade's biggest scandal are likely to face prosecution only for the peripherals of their operation.

Jim Naureckas is a former *In These Times* staff writer.

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By David Moberg

FRANK LORENZO'S JUTTING CHIN WAS BLOODIED in his first weeks of battle with Eastern Airlines' unions. Now the unions are aiming some tougher punches at the heart of his empire, non-union Continental Airlines.

Since he took over Eastern in 1986, Lorenzo has drained money and valuable assets from Eastern, pumping them into Continental on terms that further weakened long-ailing Eastern.

Pilots and flight attendants at Eastern gave their unprecedented support for the International Association of Machinists strike not simply out of union sisterhood—a sentiment only a few pilots felt toward the Machinists anyway. Mainly they were convinced that they had to act now to stop Lorenzo's destruction of the airline, or their own positions would be radically weakened as Lorenzo dismantled their airline.

Lorenzo failed to confuse or win over pilots with his deceptive last-minute contract offer to them—and actually so angered many with his ploy that they were driven to strike. The pilots thus stymied his strategy of steadily "spooling up" the number of flights Eastern offered and luring back more pilots. He then had to fall back on the risky strategy of bankruptcy to staunch a cash drain at the airline and buy time to pressure the pilots. At the same time, he hoped to strengthen money-losing Continental, which has steadily increased its flights along key Eastern routes.

Shifting gears: The unions maintain that Continental and Eastern have been run as parts of a single carrier since Lorenzo took over. The main failing in Lorenzo's strategy is that Continental—which has the lowest costs in the industry, no unions and huge, possibly fraudulent, subsidies from Eastern—continues to lose huge sums. Last year it lost \$315 million.

Sometime soon the National Mediation



Airline workers on strike: moving the battle from Eastern to Continental.

In their dogfight with Lorenzo, strikers set sights on Continental

Board may rule on the unions' claim that the airlines constitute a single carrier. If they win, Lorenzo may face a union vote at Continental-Eastern in the middle of the strike. The unions would probably win that vote.

Although they will press their case in bankruptcy court that parent Texas Air and Continental must be included in reorganization proceedings, the unions' attack on Continen-

tal has already begun.

"We're going to concentrate heavily on bringing Continental down," says Machinist District 100 spokesman Wally Haber. "We're picketing Continental. We're trying to cut off their spare parts, asking our members [at aircraft manufacturers Boeing, McDonnell Douglas and Pratt Whitney] not to ship them. It's slowing to a trickle."

The union also plans to picket subcontractors that supply airport services to Continental, and it has contacted unions in Mexico, Brazil and parts of Asia where Continental and Eastern have reportedly begun negotiating for aircraft maintenance during the strike. The pressure has "interfered to some extent" with Continental's operations, Haber says, but hasn't yet created "a major calamity." Construction workers at a Newark Continental terminal work site refused to cross picket lines, and some Teamsters have reportedly refused to deliver fuel or cargo. Machinists also intervened against a bond issue for a new Continental terminal in Cleveland.

The pilots union has taken an unprecedented move to protect its jobs if Lorenzo further dismantles Eastern. They are asking pilots at other carriers not to fly routes or airplanes that Eastern might sell unless a proportionate number of pilots is also transferred from Eastern.

Plans of attack: Last week Eastern's flight attendant union local president, Mary Jane Barry, launched a campaign of "Stand Up to Lorenzo, America, Don't Fly Continental" in Denver, a major Continental hub. Besides calling for a boycott, strike supporters plan to conduct "stand-ins" at Continental ticket counters, talking to ticket agents and blocking access of would-be travelers.

Other strike supporters have begun a low-

key campaign of "electronic picketing," flooding the Continental reservation system with telephone calls and making reservations. Apparently, if one-way tickets are booked a week in advance, callers can request that tickets be held at the airport without paying in advance with a credit card. They can also take up the ticketing agents' time by inquiring about meals, crews, baggage and Onepass membership, among other things. Already few passengers have reportedly showed up on some theoretically fully booked flights.

Jobs With Justice, a loose-knit coalition of about two dozen major unions and the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department (IUP), has staged several innovative actions. Just before the strike they sponsored "drive-throughs" that tied up five major airports. But key national officials of the AFL-CIO, which has its own Fairness at Eastern campaign with conventional picketing, initially opposed the Jobs With Justice actions and the decision to spread the strike to Continental. They pressured Jobs With Justice unions to call off their Denver drive-through. Local construction unions feared it might hurt their much-anticipated work on a new airport. National AFL-CIO leaders apparently feared legal problems, wanted to keep control over all union solidarity efforts and opposed the more militant Jobs with Justice tactics in principle.

"The AFL-CIO put the kabosh to our plans, saying it wasn't sanctioned activity," says Mary Blue, president of the big Denver Communications Workers local and leader of Denver's Jobs With Justice campaign. "We're not the conservative portion of the labor movement."

But Jobs With Justice persisted with a prayer vigil in Washington, D.C., with Jesse Jackson, a children's march on Washington National Airport, preparation of "Boycott Continental" radio ads and the "Stand Up to Lorenzo" campaign. Taking their cue from Eastern Machinists, who for several months before the strike wore red shirts on Thursdays and black shirts on Fridays as a sign of solidarity, Jobs With Justice will encourage workers across the country to do the same.

"I've heard union people say wearing red is stupid," says IUD special projects director Joe Uehlein, "but when a steelworker in Ohio is wearing red, that gives him an emotional tie with Eastern workers. A lot of what Jobs With Justice is about is emotion, commitment and feeling."

Because Continental is already so weak, a campaign of boycotts, secondary picketing and disruption need only be partly successful to damage Lorenzo. One Machinist financial analyst argued that if Continental's average passenger load is cut by less than 15 percent, the airline will run out of cash in two months. If Lorenzo must cut fares to get passengers, the breaking point could come more quickly. Because he is so unpopular, it is likely that many of the company's suppliers will not fight boycott pressures.

Lorenzo will win or lose on his ability to demoralize his three unions and get more flights in the air. One union strategist figures Lorenzo must fly at least 250 to 500 of Eastern's normal 1,100 flights by Easter weekend in order to have a chance of breaking the strike. For the union, the battle will be won or lost not only in holding the line at Eastern but also in consumer and worker boycotts at Continental.

Lorenzo's game was Hobson's choice

Before the strike at Eastern Airlines, Machinists build solidarity by wearing red shirts to work each Thursday, and flight attendants wore stickers saying, "We'll do the right thing." But they were united even more by Lorenzo's repeated harassment, which outweighed his campaign to divide flight attendants and pilots from the Machinists, branding them the greedy culprits who were destroying the airline.

"Everybody has been touched by Frank Lorenzo's tyranny," says Transport Workers Local 553 Secretary-Treasurer Judy Coughlin. "Everybody has a friend who's been abused."

Flight attendant union leaders worried that workers on the second-tier wage scale instituted in 1986 might resent higher-paid senior attendants, but less than 1 percent of all flight attendants have crossed the picket line. They also have effectively picketed Eastern attempts to hire strikebreakers.

Pilots have set up both an elaborate system to monitor flights—so that Lorenzo cannot exaggerate the extent to which he has been flying—and a speedy communication system to keep pilots informed. They have worked hard to keep

support solid and woo back pilots who initially crossed the line. Last week only about 200 of 3,500 Eastern pilots were flying; half of those were managers who hold pilot licenses. More than half of all Eastern's manager-pilots, however, have themselves refused to cross the picket line.

Some observers thought pilot union leadership was split until days before the strike on whether they could get a deal with Lorenzo and not have to go out with the Machinists. Lorenzo knew that only half the pilots paid union dues, and thus may have been misled about their likely support of the strike. But Mike O'Rourke, a 24-year veteran Eastern pilot, thought his fellow pilots concluded "that with no assets or business plan" for the company, "we had nothing to lose." A strike might doom the company, but Lorenzo was already killing it and their job prospects. Yet reaching that point, he said, was "like dealing with a diagnosis of cancer": first came denial, and then they finally came to terms with it. "I found peace with myself," he said. "If [Eastern] goes down, I'll go on."

—D.M.

INSHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

Was Tower aware?

John Tower's drinking so intoxicated the mainstream media that other issues concerning the rejected Cabinet nominee's qualifications were left in a haze. One of those apparently was the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign's alleged arms-for-hostages deal with the Ayatollah Khomeini. (See *In These Times*, June 24, 1987 and Oct. 12, 1988.) On March 3, Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA) responded to a charge by Sen. William Cohen (R-ME) that the Tower nomination had become a "Salem witch trial." Nunn, posing a series of rhetorical questions, asked the Senate to consider "whether Sen. Tower was aware of an approach to the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign, through his staff, by an alleged emissary from Iran, who sought to make a deal with the campaign for release of the hostages after the election." Nunn was referring to a meeting in early October 1980 between an unknown Iranian and Robert McFarlane, who at that time was working for then Sen. Tower (R-Texas) as a minority staff member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. A few days later the Iranian met with McFarlane, Richard Allen, the Reagan campaign's foreign policy adviser, and Laurence Silberman, Allen's aide, at the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel in Washington, D.C. The Iranian told them that Iran was willing to delay the release of the hostages until after the Nov. 4, 1980 presidential election. All three men insist that they dismissed the offer and have since forgotten the name of the Iranian representative. And Allen says he lost his notes on the meeting.

Hagiography

Oliver North appears to have won the heart of David Keith, the actor who will portray the former Marine in an upcoming TV miniseries. Keith told the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*: "He had the love and respect of everyone who worked for or with him. He knew what he wanted and how to get it. He possessed great charm and wit and was, it was said, the first man to bring real humor and fun to the White House since Kennedy."

Toxics: pick a limit, any limit

A threshold limit value (TLV) is the numerical limit for the amount of an airborne toxic chemical to which a person may supposedly be exposed without ill effect. The American Conference of Governmental Industrial Hygienists (ACGIH), a private group of corporate and governmental industrial hygienists, sets these limits and publishes them in the annual report *Documentation of Threshold Limit Values*. Ken Silvers reports in *Science for the People* that the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, agencies in 27 states and regulatory bodies in dozens of foreign countries use these TLVs to set legal exposure limits to airborne toxics. The problem is that TLVs are often fraudulent standards set by the companies that manufacture the toxic chemicals in question. According to a study published last year in the *American Journal of Industrial Medicine*, standards for 104 of some 600 chemicals listed in the 1986 *Documentation of Threshold Limit Values* are based on unpublished corporate communications. The ACGIH refused to cooperate with the authors of the *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* study, but the researchers did obtain documentation on how TLVs were established for several carcinogens. For example, a Dow Chemical Company employee, who was also a member of the ACGIH committee that sets the TLV limits, had primary responsibility for defining what is a safe exposure to vinyl chloride and a number of chlorinated hydrocarbons of which Dow is a major producer. Similarly, a Du Pont employee was responsible for the TLV for dimethyl sulfate, a Du Pont product that is so carcinogenic that one of its main uses is in genetic mutation research. The ACGIH did not designate dimethyl sulfate a carcinogen until six years after West Germany had done so. The group then set an exposure limit that was 10 times that allowed in West Germany.

Consumption ethics

Having sold out its first 150,000 copies of *Shopping for a Better World*, the Council on Economic Priorities, a New York-based public interest group, plans to print another 65,000 of these wallet-sized guides "to socially responsible supermarket shopping." Inside you will find ratings of some 1,300 brand-name products made by 138 corporations. Each product is defined by the rating its corporate producer scored in 10 categories: advancement of

CURB YOUR ANIMAL INSTINCT



CONTROLA TU INSTINTO ANIMAL

Sign for spring: New York artist Ilona Granet raised some issues and aroused some feelings last August when she posted her street sign, "Curb Your Animal Instinct," near a Wall Street construction site. Granet told the *Village Voice's* Robert Atkins that her admonishment led to "a speakout, a happening, a riot. [Construction workers and spectators] started to scream that it was their right to yell at women and that 'women dress that way so they must want it.'" Her sign was immediately taken down and the tires on her car were slashed. But Granet said, "I'm happy these issues are being raised.... The way these workers carried on—their fury with me for branding them as perpetrators—seems perfect, almost appropriate." Granet's work was part of a recent exhibit, "Serious Fun, Truthful Lies," at the Randolph Street Gallery in Chicago.

Out of the closet and into the brig, and that's an order

"Be all that you can be," except if what you "be" is lesbian or gay. This is the message the U.S. armed forces have made clear in their ongoing mission to search out and court-martial service men and women for homosexual behavior. According to Defense Department policy, "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service. The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the armed forces to maintain discipline, good order and morale; to foster mutual trust and confidence among service members; to maintain the public acceptability of military service and to prevent breaches of security."

In February 1988 a three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit Court declared the army's regulations excluding gay and lesbian soldiers as unconstitutional. The military has appealed the decision, however, and its regulations are still being enforced. Within the next few months the Court of Appeals will decide whether the armed forces can continue their anti-gay campaign—a campaign that took on a new zeal under the Reagan-Bush administration.

Although the military's regulations have remained the same for many years, their implementation is sporadic. "When we were in Vietnam, we were fine," Sue Hyde of

the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) told *Coming Up!*. "In peacetime [the military] spruce it up, get rid of the deviants, have it be a nice heterosexual boys' club again. The so-called regulations have to be viewed in that kind of flux."

According to Defense Department statistics, since 1983 lesbians have been discharged for homosexual conduct at a rate almost three times that of homosexual military men. This has led some critics to claim that the crusade is not only anti-gay but sexist.

Last year the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Service (DACOWITS) issued a report on sexual harassment in the military that described men's treatment of women as "at best inappropriate and at worst morally repugnant." And in order to curb the rise of lesbianism, the head of DACOWITS, Jacquelyn Davis, suggested that the Marine Corps consider integrating barracks by having floors divided by sex in order that "some of the problems associated with the living situation of females in the Marine Corps might be alleviated."

This proposed "solution" to lesbianism, wrote *Coming Up's* Christina Smith, "is an attempt to rationalize away the natural inclinations of some women by citing social conditions as the cause of such behavior. In a sense, it gives lesbians one last chance to 'conform' to fit military's description of proper sexual behavior."

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorney Mary Newcombe is challenging the Defense Department's rules on homosexuality by pointing out their striking similarity to regulations used to segregate black soldiers in the '40s. At that time the Defense Department claimed integration would obstruct the armed forces' ability to maintain discipline, good order and morale; hinder efficiency and distress whites who did not want to serve with blacks.

U.S. Attorney E. Roy Hawkins, who is defending the military in two cases involving discharges on the basis of homosexuality, says that neither equal protection nor First Amendment arguments have any bearing on military policy because gays in the military are "a class that is largely defined by criminal behavior [sodomy]." Homosexual orientation, the Defense Department claims, can't be distinguished from the intent to engage in a homosexual, and therefore criminal, act.

Prompted by the imprisonment of the three female Marines, the NGLTF, the National Organization of Women, Women's Equity Action League and the ACLU Lesbian/Gay Rights Project have founded the Military Freedom Project. The project plans to "make a concerted and coordinated effort to win recognition of the contributions of lesbians and gay men in the armed forces by dismantling the military's viciously homophobic policies."

—Michele Mozelsio

David Duke: point man for neo-Nazi "populists"

CHICAGO—Louisiana legislator David Duke's insistence that he is not a racist was undermined again earlier this month when he addressed a meeting of the Populist Party's national executive committee here. The Populist Party, a small white-supremacist group, had been Duke's 1988 presidential campaign vehicle, putting him on the ballot in 12 states.

The party's racist roots stem from its 1984 creation by the Liberty Lobby, a little-known but influential quasi-Nazi organization. The Liberty Lobby, founded in 1955 and still led by Willis Carto, is headquartered a few blocks from Capitol Hill. Its 32-page weekly tabloid, the *Spotlight*, has an estimated circulation of 165,000, higher than any other American right-wing publication.

The Liberty Lobby's guiding bible is *Imperium*, a tract written in 1948 by Francis P. Yockey, which frames the world as a conflict between powerful Jewish "culture distorters" and an authentic Aryan civilization. The book, praised by Carto in a long introduction, is dedicated to Adolph

Hitler.

Carto, through the Populist Party, hopes to meld the fractured white-supremacist movement into a powerful political force. Since its inception, the party has managed to attract like flies the violent, paramilitary Posse Comitatus, the paramilitary Christian-Patriots Defense League, the militantly racist and anti-Semitic National States Rights Party and sundry elements of the Ku Klux Klan.

Duke said that his speech to the Populist Party's governing board was a prior commitment he had to keep, and that now, as a loyal Republican, he is no longer associated with the party.

But those appear to be empty words. Duke's electioneering has followed the Populist Party's "tripartisan" strategy that advocates running as a Democrat, Republican or Populist in order to develop campaigns on Populist platform issues. Within the last year, Duke, with Populist Party support, has run under all three party banners, in the 1988 Democratic presidential primaries, in November as the Populist Party's presidential candidate and finally—and successfully—as a Republican in Louisiana.

Howard students set precedent for African-American diaspora

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Student protesters at Howard University in Washington, D.C., which is sometimes called the "mecca of black education," orchestrated a successful, six-day demonstration March 3-8 to unseat Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater from the school's board of trustees, a body to which he was elected on January 28.

A majority of Howard students opposed Atwater because of his ties to Sen. Strom Thurmond and for his efforts to make Willie Horton a household image during last year's presidential campaign. Students also aired grievances over the backlog of financial aid applications, the understaffed and underpaid campus security force and the lack of available housing. In addition, they demanded a more "Afro-centric" curriculum.

Although Atwater was the focus of the protest, the students stressed on placards, in chants and in speeches, "It's not the man, it's the issues." April Silver, a student leader who heads the Black *Nia* (Unity) Force, a student group that promotes "liberation," told a rally that the main issue was the administration's lack of "respect for students."

Robert Turner, another protest leader and vice president of the Howard University Student Association, explained that students want input in decisions. According to Turner, when the administration announced a 15-percent tuition hike and then proclaimed Atwater's selection, it was just too much.

On March 3, 2,000 students interrupted Howard's annual convocation ceremony to present their demands to school President James E. Cheek. Carrying signs that said, "Just Say No to Atwater" and chanting, "Students united can never be defeated," the protesters overran the ceremony, usurping the attention of the national media that was on hand to hear Bill Cosby's keynote address.

After meetings with Cheek, whom detractors describe as a closet Republican, failed to produce Atwater's dismissal, some 1,500 students seized the four-story "A [Administration] Building."



On March 7 the administration obtained a court order for their removal and called in Washington, D.C., riot police equipped with tear gas to help Howard security guards evict the students. This "SWAT" team broke through windows to unlock doors and landed helicopters on the roof while students huddled on the floors.

When Atwater saw the video of the conflict, he tendered his resignation, saying in a letter that he "could never forgive himself if someone was

hurt in one of these episodes." According to a new report by the Center for Democratic Renewal, an Atlanta-based group that monitors racist and anti-Semitic propaganda, "Klansmen and neo-Nazis across the country are hailing [Duke's] victory as their own." The report, titled "Ballot-Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party," predicts that Klansmen and neo-Nazis will now "gravitate to the Populist Party."

And, it seems, so are some Republicans. Former Arizona Gov. Evan Mecham was scheduled to join Duke at a Populist Party press conference, but was forced to cancel. Mecham's faction of the Arizona GOP recently wrested control of the party from more moderate elements. Arizona Republicans have since declared the U.S. a "Christian Republic."

Duke and his supporters say he "will be the first person since [George] Wallace to articulate the positions of the American white majority." To build that supposed majority, Duke plans to consolidate his base and expand his appeal by pushing anti-welfare legislation and property-tax relief for those earning under \$75,000 per year. He claims one of his proposals already has the support of every GOP legislator in Louisiana. —Russell Bellant

hurt in one of these episodes."

Even with Atwater out of the picture, students remained in A Building, fearing reprisals and holding out for their other demands. The 89-hour occupation ended when student leaders met with attorneys from the school and drafted a treaty in which all student demands were met except receipt of a written apology from Cheek.

The protest was successful largely because its leaders maintained discipline, kept their fortress secure and upheld their pledge of non-violence. Members of Black *Nia* Force acted as security guards and stood watch at doorways. Doors, locked and chained, were opened on the half hour, when streams of students emerged from teach-ins, while hundreds more waited to file in. No reporters were allowed in.

Students carried in sandwiches, fruit, hot chocolate, pillows and blankets. Bags of trash were piled outside the A Building. Every so often, a group of protesters appeared on the roof to raise their fists. Some students held the building, others rallied at the entrance to the building, while still others marched around the campus chanting, "Too Black, Too Strong!" "Black Power!" and "Whose School? Our School!"

Junior Ras Baraka, son of poet and political activist Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), was the most outspoken student leader. At a rally on Wednesday, Baraka, founder of Black *Nia* Force, said, "We're letting them know there's a new leadership, a new uncompromising leadership. This is just the beginning.... We are setting a precedent for other black colleges, in the black community and throughout the diaspora."

—Eric Gravley

women, minorities, environment, investment in South Africa, charitable giving, community outreach, nuclear power, animal testing, military contracts and social disclosure. For example, do you need vegetable juice? If so, choose V8, made by socially responsible Campbell Soup. The Libby brand is made by Nestlé, a company that ranks poorly in all 10 categories. What about ice cream? Buy from Ben & Jerry's, which gives 7.5 percent of its pre-tax earnings to charity rather than from Borden, a company whose chemical division has been fined \$2.2 million for violating the Clean Water Act. To order your copy call 1-800-U-CAN-HELP.

Military quarantine

Soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas, who test positive for the AIDS virus are kept in special barracks. Laurie Garrett reports in *New York Newsday* that although U.S. Defense Department regulations state that soldiers "shall not be separated on the basis of their HIV status," the 50 or so HIV-positive soldiers at Ft. Hood are separated from their units and put on the third floor of Building 21006—known on the base as the "HIV hotel" and the "leper colony." One quarantined resident has a different description for the barracks: "prison." Maj. James Small, head of infectious disease at Ft. Hood, does not think this segregation should be called "quarantine" since there is no quarantine in the Army. After all, the Army can do no wrong. Or as Lt. Col. Bruce Beals, head of public information for the base, explains, "Yes, we have a captive group that can be studied. We have a lot of checks and balances in our system that do not exist in the civilian world, and these ensure that the right thing is always done."

The rich get richer

President Bush's 1990 budget proposes cutting the long-term (one year) capital gains tax from 28 percent to 12 percent for people in the top tax bracket. According to the Washington, D.C.-based Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Bush's proposed tax cut would further "widen the gap [that now stands at record levels] between the wealthy and the poor and the gap between the wealthy and the middle class." A 1988 study by the Congressional Budget Office found that the top 1 percent of taxpayers—those in the \$100,000-plus income bracket—receive on average 55 percent of the nation's long-term capital gains income, while the top 0.25 percent of taxpayers receive 42 percent. The White House responds to criticism that it is just helping the rich by saying that under the Bush plan the people with adjusted gross incomes of under \$20,000 (more than half of all taxpayers) would pay no tax on long-term capital gains. What the administration doesn't say is that these taxpayers receive only 8 percent of all capital gains income. Citizens for Tax Justice, a Washington, D.C., group, estimates that people who make more than \$200,000 per year would receive, on average, a \$25,000 tax cut under the Bush proposal. Further, the group projects that 90 percent of the tax benefits in this proposal will go to the richest 5 percent of the population. And what will this giveaway do to the federal deficit? The Congressional Budget Office estimates that in the long term the proposal will increase the deficit by at least several billion dollars a year. As the *Wall Street Journal* explains, Bush's tax proposals provide "billions of dollars in benefits [to] rich people and big corporations."

See no evil, hear no evil

How is President Bush able to get away with his kinder and gentler sleight of hand without the national media exposing his hypocrisy? One answer is that the administration already has in place a smoothly working propaganda apparatus, or, as it is called these days, a "public diplomacy program." The Society of Professional Journalists' annual *Freedom of Information Report* quotes Lou Cannon of the *Washington Post* as saying, "Bush is restricting the access for the press severely and is starting out where it took Reagan several years to get to." And Helen Thomas, United Press International's veteran correspondent, says she fears "Bush will tear all of the pages from Reagan's book, and it will be total news management." What both Cannon and Thomas seem to forget is that it takes two to manage the news.

News clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes, raw gossip—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, Ill. 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

ALTHOUGH HE'S SPENT THE LAST FEW weeks dodging the political karma of his racist "Willie Horton strategy," GOP chief Lee Atwater's quest for more black Republicans continues.

The protests by Howard University students demanding his removal from the school's board of trustees may have forced Atwater's resignation from that institution (see story on page 5), but did little to halt the Republican National Committee (RNC) chairman's campaign to attract African-Americans. Nor has he been dissuaded by the recent election of David Duke, a former grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, to a Republican seat in the Louisiana House.

Atwater's strategy was outlined in a speech following his selection as RNC chairman last January. He said the Republican Party had a unique chance to gain the black support it needed to truly become the majority party, and he pledged to take advantage of the opportunity.

"Those very sectors which have historically given their votes to the other party are now beginning to realize for the first time that they have won very little in return for their allegiance," he said. Atwater's speech may have been heavy with euphemisms, but his meaning was clear: Republicans have much to gain by exploiting African-Americans' growing disaffection with the Democratic Party.

Blacks for Vrdolyak? As if following instructions directly from the RNC chairman's playbook, Edward Vrdolyak, a Chicago Democrat-turned-Republican, has struck an unlikely vein of black support by exploiting the political divisions in the city's African-American community that followed the sudden November 1987 death of Mayor Harold Washington. In his former incarnation as chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party, Vrdolyak opposed Washington's reform agenda at every turn and was the man most black Chicagoans loved to hate.

"I've supported the Democratic Party, the

An alternative strain

The Republican National Committee (RNC) is still developing the specific features of its initiative to lure black voters into the party, but a general plan already has been designed. Thelma Duggin, a black business consultant who coordinated minority affairs in various posts within the Reagan administration, is in charge of the new thrust.

According to RNC officials, the party is focusing its outreach efforts on the growing numbers of well-educated, upwardly mobile young blacks who pollsters say are much more likely to vote Republican than their elders.

Since this target group's interests closely coincide with the concerns of the party's core constituency, RNC officials see no need to tailor a special message. "The main issues we stress are peace and prosperity," says RNC Chief of Staff Mary Matalin. "And that's an American agenda, not a race agenda." Instead, the party seeks to create an alternative strain of black leadership through job appointments in the Bush administration and senior positions in the party structure. —S.M.



GOP Chairman Lee Atwater: playing the blues for blacks.

GOP courting black votes for the white reasons

black nationalist movement and the independent Harold Washington movement," says Marion Stamps, a widely respected organizer who works with residents of the city's public housing projects. "But I've had enough. I'm wholeheartedly supporting Vrdolyak. None of those other groups have ever really addressed the real problems of the poor women and children that I live among, the folks they've labeled the 'underclass.'" Stamps' disaffection is exhibit A in Atwater's argument for aggressive outreach.

Jack Kemp, the former presidential candidate and idealistic HUD secretary, is a valuable ally in Atwater's push for a darker GOP. A rhapsodic capitalist whose faith in the entrepreneurial spirit knows no bounds, Kemp adds a kind of movement fervor to the outreach campaign. "I like a lot of what Kemp is saying," says Stamps. "He's the first head of HUD to treat us like we're capable of being self-sufficient instead of patronizing us with promises of more welfare."

Stamps joins several prominent black Chicagoans—including Alderwoman Anna Langford, American Postal Workers President Tommy Briscoe and two former Washington aides—in her support for Republican Vrdolyak. While some of Vrdolyak's black support is born of spite, much of it is genuine.

Kemp's bootstrap boosterism strikes a responsive chord among many African-Americans. There is a natural connection between black cultural conservatism and the conservative movement within the Republican

Party. Many of black America's largest organizations—Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League, Marcus Gar-

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vey's United Negro Improvement Association, Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam—chant the conservative mantra of hard work, self-reliance and moral discipline.

This cultural connection was obscured by the anti-civil rights posture the Republicans

Some analysts say Atwater's strategy is a ruse to make Dems cover their core.

have assumed over the last quarter century, but the Bush people think it's time to renew those philosophical links.

Bush, you're no Reagan: "Chicago is really a unique case," says Linda Williams, associate director of research for the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), a Washington, D.C.-based think tank that specializes in African-American affairs. "I don't see a national trend that corresponds with what's happening in the black community there. But there certainly is a window of opportunity in the black community for Republicans."

Williams credits Bush, rather than Atwater, for the new opening. "Bush is highly regarded

in the black community because of his history," she adds. "And since his election he's been sending the right symbolic signals."

Whether the Republican Party uses the opportunity depends on what deeds back up Bush's symbols. But, Williams notes, the president gains black support simply by not being Ronald Reagan.

"I agree that the Democrats' shoddy treatment of African-Americans may have opened a new opportunity for the Republicans to seek black defections," says Ronald Walters, professor of political science at Howard University. "But unlike Linda [Williams] at the center, I don't see any evidence that African-Americans are disposed to join the party of Reagan. We are more likely to start building an independent party," Walters adds.

Indeed, black dissatisfaction with the listless campaign of Democrat Michael Dukakis manifested itself as a drop in electoral participation, rather than in support for Bush. "We had an average drop-off of about 11 percent in African-American vote totals from 1984 to 1988," Walters explains. "When the black community doesn't like a Democratic candidate, they simply refuse to go to the polls." The Atwater strategy seeks to mobilize those disillusioned Democrats for the GOP.

Hey, not so fast: Atwater vigorously opposed the election of ex-Klansman Duke to the Louisiana legislature. He urged the RNC to approve a resolution declaring that Duke "had no place in the Republican Party," and would receive no assistance from the national party apparatus.

But Atwater's fervid denunciations of the former Klansman have perplexed many Republicans who see little difference between Duke's priorities and the party platform (see *In These Times*, Feb. 15 and March 1). Moreover, they argue, racial polarization has been a boon to the GOP, so why tamper with success?

Some analysts suggest that Atwater may be pulling a fast one. Atlanta-based pollster Clairbourne Darden contends that the GOP would suffer a net deficit if the outreach campaign were successful. The party's gain in black support would be offset by its loss of white support, he argues.

"Republicans appear to be the only ones who can save the Democratic Party in the South," Darden says. "The only thing that can save the Democrats from becoming the 'black' party is if Republicans succeed in winning more blacks."

In view of this, Darden and others wonder if Atwater, who is known for his hardball tactics, is actually seeking other constituencies with his rhetoric of black outreach. They contend his strategy may be a ruse to trick Democrats into spending resources on firming up their own base, while the Republicans go after the voters they really want: Hispanics, Asians and moderate whites who are attracted to promises of inclusion.

"This technique has been around a long, long time," Darden told the *Congressional Quarterly*. "Undeniably, it is smart to do, because the battle for politics is in the middle."

But most experts conclude that the Atwater initiative is a serious and wily attempt to harness the spirit of the times to transform the GOP into the majority party. And since black dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party is rising—despite their unprecedented influence in party affairs—Atwater may be on to something. □

By John B. Judis

PHILADELPHIA

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI WAS THE FIRST political philosopher to understand the tension between utopia and reality—between what is ideal and what is historically possible. Machiavelli, a republican as well as a nationalist, recognized that only a prince could unify the feuding Italian city-states. The republican became a monarchist.

After losing the last five of six presidential contests, Democrats are faced with a similar tension between their social and economic ideals and their desire to win back the White House. Democrats are asking whether they can win as liberals, or whether they have to abandon part of the liberal agenda in order to get into a position to attain any of it. This question underscored the vigorous debate at the Democratic Leadership Council's March 9-11 conference in Philadelphia.

The DLC was organized in March 1985 to move the party toward the center after former Vice President Walter Mondale's landslide defeat. But while the organization is home to conservative Southern Democrats like Senators Sam Nunn and John Breaux, it has also attracted post-New Deal liberals like Rep. Richard Gephardt, Rep. Bill Gray and Sen. Barbara Mikulski. For the conference's main event, a panel discussion on building a presidential majority, the DLC invited a political cross section of party leaders from Rev. Jesse Jackson to DLC founder Sen. Chuck Robb. It was at this panel that the party's differences about future direction most clearly surfaced.

The premise of the panel, stated by organization chair Nunn in his opening address, was that the Democrats cannot remain content merely with congressional majorities; they must regain the White House. "If we only control Congress, we will be the mechanics but not the architects of national purpose," Nunn said.

Participants in the conference warned that if the Democrats continue to lose presidential elections, they will eventually lose Congress, too. In 1992, for instance, 20 of 34 Senate seats up for election are Democratic seats. In 1986, 10 of the Democrats won with 55 percent or less of the vote.

Myth and reality: The panel was organized around a paper given by William Galston, Mondale's issues director in 1984 and now a political scientist at the University of Maryland. The liberal Galston, chastened by Mondale's defeat, has moved steadily toward the kind of strategy espoused by DLC moderates.

Galston thinks the Democrats must "regain competitiveness" among the white middle-class voters who defected to Reagan in 1980 and 1984 and Bush in 1988. He dismisses as myth the view that Democrats can win merely by "mobilizing their core constituencies." "The reality is Dukakis got a higher percentage of the black and liberal vote than Jimmy Carter in 1976, but lower percentages of the white and conservative vote.... Dukakis did as well among the poor, but far poorer among middle class. If only voters who have incomes of \$50,000 or less had voted, Bush would still have won. If minorities and poor had voted at national averages, Bush would still have won."

Galston believes that the middle-class defectors could be won over by the Democrats' "progressive economic program." "A large majority of Americans still identify the Republicans as the party of the rich and the Democrats as the party of fair treatment for



Sen. Richard Gephardt: trying to get a lift for '92 out of national decline.

Democrats go to class, but miss all the lessons

all people," Galston says. But he contends that the Democrats are prevented from reaching this group by their lack of credibility on other issues. "Credibility on defense, foreign policy and social policy is the threshold our candidates must cross to gain a fair hearing for their economic case."

Galston argues that to be elected, Democratic presidential candidates must earn the voters' respect in these areas. "If our next nominee isn't credible as the commander in chief, he won't be elected. He won't be credible if he has no record in defense and foreign affairs," Galston says. "If our next nominee can't deal credibly with personal and family security, he won't be elected president. The American people overwhelmingly believe that the death penalty is appropriate for certain heinous crimes. Will our next nominee agree or be on the defensive again?"

Galston's criteria appear designed for DLC stalwarts like Robb and Nunn, both of whom enthusiastically endorsed his paper. They rule out not only Jackson and "former tank commander" Dukakis, but also an entire generation of Democratic governors, including New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, who is against the death penalty and has little experience in foreign affairs. This suggests that while Galston's analysis of the Democrats' dilemma may be correct, his prescription for the Democratic Party is unnecessarily rigid. It leaves no room, as Jackson later noted at the DLC conference, for the intangible personal qualities of the successful politician.

Jackson's response to Galston suffered

from the tension between the ideal and the possible. He wants to reconcile his own ambitions and the concerns of his constituency with the realities of presidential politics; but to do so, he has to slight the realities. In Philadelphia, Jackson argued that Democrats could win by mobilizing their core constituencies. Black voters had made the difference for Democrats in the 1960, 1964, and 1976 election victories, he contended, and then he criticized Dukakis for neglecting Democrats' black base. "We lost 10 states with 160 electoral votes by less than the margin of African American voters in those states alone," Jackson said.

Politics and morality: His historical argument has some basis. In 1960 and 1976 black voters did play a crucial part in the Democrats' presidential victory. But it could be equally argued that white racism played an important part in Republican victories in 1968, 1972, 1980, 1984 and 1988. And Jackson's scenario for a Dukakis victory is without any basis. He has to assume that under certain circumstances 100 percent of blacks would have gone to the polls (which no group in American politics has ever done) and that under these same circumstances the amount and composition of the remaining white vote would remain constant. In other words, there would be no counter-mobilization or backlash, as occurred in the 1983 Chicago mayoral contest or the 1984 North Carolina Senate race.

Jackson is on firmer ground when he lays aside his own ambitions and appeals morally

to other Democratic leaders not to abandon blacks or striking machinists in the course of trying to win back Reagan Democrats. If issues like sanctions against South Africa "are morally right," Jackson said, "we should stand for them. If we don't care about being morally right, let's join [Louisiana state legislator and former Klansman] David Duke and say we support him."

Gephardt took a different tack from Jackson and Galston. He argued that Democrats can, in effect, jump over Galston's credibility threshold by clearly articulating a "populist" program around economic decline. "The American people understand instinctively that strength is not just military.

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They are way ahead of us in understanding that America's economic strength is in decline," Gephardt blamed Dukakis' defeat on his unwillingness to adopt this kind of approach until the very end of the campaign.

Like Jackson, Gephardt has already begun campaigning for 1992, and his presentation suffered from an unwillingness to explore candidly the obstacles that he faced last year and will face again in 1992. His approach was successful in the American heartland, but not among the eastern or western seaboard Democratic elite who finance campaigns and dictate much of the national press coverage. In Philadelphia, for instance, Washington super-lawyer and former Lyndon Johnson aide Harry McPherson chided Gephardt for advocating a divisive strategy.

Gephardt also sidestepped Galston's warnings about Democratic credibility on crime and other social issues. In practice, Gephardt has given considerable attention to this problem, having flip-flopped from anti-abortion to pro-choice before the 1988 primary, only to vote last summer against the District of Columbia being able to perform Medicaid abortions. But his economic populism nonetheless holds out the best hope for winning back the Reagan Democrats without having to abandon the foundations of liberalism.

Political paralysis: Almost nothing was said over the weekend about U.S.-Soviet relations—a highly curious omission within a group whose leaders are known for their Cold War strategizing and posturing. Nunn explained that the conference was primarily concerned with domestic and political issues, but U.S.-Soviet relations can have the most direct and significant bearing on the American economy and on the ideological underpinnings of American politics.

The end of the Cold War could not only free up resources for economic and social programs, but also diminish Americans' concern about their president being a military commander. Like the Bush administration, Democratic leaders appear perplexed and paralyzed, rather than encouraged, by these prospects. Equally, none of the Democrats, except for Gephardt, considered how the changing world economy can make opinion polls irrelevant and alter the basic assumptions of American politics.

In all, the DLC conference was a reminder of how confused and disoriented the Democratic leadership remains. It is still torn between ideal and reality—between Jackson's left-wing idealism and the DLC's centrist opportunism. It is still concerned primarily with 1988 opinion polls rather than the volcanic changes in the late 20th century. Neither Machiavelli nor his prince has come to the fore.

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By Diana Johnstone

WEST BERLIN

RED-GREEN IS COMING TRUE IN WEST GERMANY. Social Democrats and Greens have won governing majorities first in West Berlin, followed by Frankfurt and other cities in the state of Hesse. A new left politics centering on ecological, social and civil libertarian themes is about to be put to the test of power.

Postwar West German politics has been dominated by a conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU), a small but influential swing party, the Free Democrats (FDP) and a Social Democratic Party (SPD) that in office has always had to compromise with a more conservative partner. Now for the first time, the SPD has a partner to its left.

The Berlin and Frankfurt elections announce a more polarized political spectrum, with a marked overall shift to the left, accompanied by the emergence of a small far right. In Frankfurt Green Daniel Cohn-Bendit, star student rebel of the Paris May 1968 revolt, was elected to the city council. Cohn-Bendit is suing the CDU for using anti-Semitic innuendo in its campaign against him. The campaign was in any case a debacle for the CDU, which lost over a fourth of its voters. About half the CDU losses were picked up by the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party (NPD), running a "Germany for the Germans" campaign.

In both cities, the FDP fell below the 5-percent hurdle, leaving the SPD practically obliged to seek coalition with the Greens. His own party's disastrous defeat reminded FDP Chairman Otto Lambsdorff of "the Weimar Republic before the Nazis seized power." Such panic on the part of the losers unfortunately gets more international media attention than the promising red-green success.

The Berlin example: If there was a historic turning point toward a "red-green" future, it took place in Berlin.

Contrary to all forecasts, as a result of the January 29 elections, the Social Democratic Party and the Greens found themselves with a majority of the Berlin parliament's 138 seats between them—55 for the SPD and 17 for the Greens.

Walter Momper, a competent but obscure 44-year-old Social Democrat, had been chosen to lose honorably to CDU Mayor Eberhard Diepgen, considered a shoo-in. Momper hadn't expected to be elected mayor, much less to head a red-green coal-



West Berlin Alternative List members enjoying election returns on television.

The new political landscape is vivid with red and green

ition Senate (as the West Berlin government is called) in the politically sensitive city-state, still officially ruled by the three Western Allied Occupation Powers 44 years after the end of World War II. The Americans, British and French would hardly relish seeing "the showcase of the Free World" turn into a red-green experimental center. Would they even allow it? Many thought not.

If the SPD was unprepared to govern with the Greens, the Berlin branch of the Greens—the Alternative List for Democracy and Environmental Protection (AL)—was unprepared to govern, period. Alternative implies opposition to state power, not its exercise. The AL's symbol is the prickly hedgehog—the embodiment of stubborn, isolated resistance. To share government, the AL would have to sacrifice most of its radical program and harder still, a good part of its identity.

The SPD and AL were forced together by the "red-green euphoria" that seized West Berlin in response to the elections. When Momper went before a crowd of Social Democrats on election night, he was drowned out by insistent chanting: "Red-green! Red-green!" Neither party could risk shattering its voters' vague but compelling dream of a partnership between the old "red" left, with its historic commitment to social justice, and the new "green" radical democratic left that has grown out of the political

struggles of the past 20 years.

They were also pushed into each other's arms by a negative catalyst, the 7.5 percent of the vote and 11 seats won by a new nationalist far-right party, the Republicans. Anti-fascism is the most fundamental common denominator of the German left, for obvious historical reasons. Strictly speaking,

WEST GERMANY

the Republicans are not a neo-Nazi party, but a far right-wing populist party with a much less aggressive name and style than the NPD (banned in Berlin by the Allies as neo-Nazi) or even Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front in neighboring France. Like other contemporary rightist parties in Western Europe, it got votes by blaming immigrants for social problems.

Growing further apart: The immigrant issue is the main factor in the current political polarization. While the CDU hastened to try to compete with the Republicans by copying them, the SPD reacted with a firmer commitment than ever to equal rights for immigrants, starting with the right to vote in municipal elections. This issue provides a core of agreement between the Social Democrats and the Greens.

The other polarizing issue is "law and order." This is a more problematic area for SPD-AL understanding. The leading Berlin Republican, Bernhard Andres, is a 37-year-old policeman and former Christian Democrat. The SPD is especially sensitive to attitudes inside the police, where the SPD has its own small minority union, and insisted on avoiding any measures likely to provoke right-wing reaction among policeman. Thus, on the advice of its own policemen's union, the SPD vetoed the AL proposal to oblige policemen to wear identifying badges. However, it agreed to disband a special anti-riot union. The AL finally agreed to the SPD approach, based on police training to teach police de-escalation strategies and political means of avoiding conflict.

Right-wing media and politicians immediately raised a hue and cry against "red-green chaos," playing on the AL's defense of extralegal social movements such as squatters, its belief in civil disobedience and its generally progressive libertarian social philosophy. The next militant demonstration

that clashes with police could cause real trouble for the coalition. The CDU is positioning itself to stand back and ride a red-green debacle in Berlin to victory in the federal West German elections in late 1990.

With the Christian Democrats and the right-wing press shouting "chaos," the Allies presumably suspicious and business threatening to move away, SPD and AL leaders saw "red-green Berlin" as an historic opportunity, or an historic trap. To seize the opportunity, they had to walk into the potential trap. They did so with lucid misgivings.

Let's get together: Forming a coalition was a strenuous exercise in political responsibility and compromise for the SPD and, even moreso, for the Alternative List. As the small partner, the AL had to cede to the SPD on most points. The negotiations were tough but honest. The result is the first really serious red-green coalition in West Germany. The coalition in the state of Hesse in 1986 was a short-lived, jerry-built arrangement between militant *Realos* (realists) among the Greens, eager to get into government, and a Social Democratic mayor who couldn't wait to find a pretext to end the uncomfortable partnership.

In Berlin the outcome was not the result of a power struggle in which Green *Realos* defeated *Fundis* (fundamentalists), but of a political transformation involving the whole Alternative List. In the six weeks between the elections and designation of a new Senate, a general commission of seven members of each party, plus 12 subcommissions on various policy fields, negotiated a red-green program. Up to 20 Greens took part in each commission, involving a substantial proportion of the party's 3,000 members. Both Social Democrats and Alternatives spoke of the grueling negotiations as a step into a "new political culture" and a "learning process" in which the two former political adversaries learned to know and respect each other.

Thus in Berlin, the coalition is built to last on the basis of an agreement worked out in intensive bargaining, which runs to 85 pages in its short version. The final text was endorsed by special assemblies of both parties. The coalition's policy objectives are spelled out in detail.

When the coalition question came up in Hesse, the whole Green party was infected with the paralyzing *Realo-Fundi* feud. Berlin shifted the focus and helped the party into a new phase. The Green party congress held in Duisburg as the SPD-AL negotiations were underway confirmed the earlier defeat of the *Fundi* party leadership group headed by Jutta Ditfurth, but also rebuffed the most factional *Realo* leaders. A new balanced leadership based on compromise was elected.

Berlin leader Christian Ströbele, acknowledging that the AL had to cede on most points, nevertheless won over the Duisburg congress to enthusiastic support for the coalition, while leaders of the *Fundi* left—radical ecologist Jutta Ditfurth and Hamburg ecosocialists Thomas Ebermann and Rainer Trampert—looked on in dismay and talked of leaving the party. But *Superreale* Otto Schily was also isolated. Ströbele, who like Schily once acted as defense lawyer for members of the Baader-Meinhof Red Army Faction, reproached Schily for publicly advising the SPD to be "tough" in its negotiations with the AL, especially on the question

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of "state monopoly of violence".

History lesson: Only in Germany is this question debated with such passionate intensity. Schily considers that in a democratic state like the Federal Republic, all democrats must recognize the state's monopoly of violence. Radicals take another view. The AL election program declared that "rejection on principle of violent forms of resistance would overlook the fact that the right of states to employ violence has been and is used to further the power interests of their elites" through war or domestic repression. "If we have learned one thing from history, it is this: resistance comes too late, when democracy has already been set aside or when war is already begun."

The German new left drew from the Nazi experience the lesson that it is never too early to resist state power. In the '70s this led to readiness to conceal fugitive members of the Red Army Fraction, and in the '80s to massive resistance to a controversial post-war census. The German left is on the watch for institutions that could be used to bring back a police state. The AL program called for "internal disarmament" through withdrawal of the police from social conflicts, abolition of the Constitutional Protection Agency that watches extremists and eventual abolition of prisons. Renate Künast, a 32-year-old jurist elected to the Berlin parliament, points out that most criminals are never caught anyway, and that those who are sent to prison only come out worse for the experience.

This is long range and theoretical. But it enables the AL program to be portrayed by the right as a vast incitement to riot.

Before entering into negotiations over specific policy points, Momper undertook to control media damage and bid for acceptance from the Allied Occupation Powers, Bonn and the police by obliging the Alternative List to elaborate joint policy statements clarifying the "three essentials": Allied Occupation Rights, the legal unity of West Berlin with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the state monopoly of violence.

The second point means in practice that West Berlin will continue to demonstrate its unity with the FRG (a unity that exists de

facto, but is denied de jure by the Allies until conclusion of a peace treaty) by automatically passing all laws passed by the Bundestag for the FRG. AL's reservations on this point were secondary, linked to the Green decentralizing political philosophy.

On the question of state violence, the two parties agreed on the one hand that "violence breaks out where legitimate needs in society are ignored," and that both want to "combat the causes of violence by suppressing the social relations and structures that produce violence." On the other hand, they agreed that "only the state may decide who is authorized to resort to immediate use of force." But they concluded that the state's application of force must stay strictly within the bounds both of law and of "proportionality," and must be only a "last resort."

The Allies may be the most sensitive issue of all, although it is hard to tell. Conservatives have every reason to dramatize the presumed hostility between the Allies and the Greens. On this issue the SPD is in something of an intermediary position, and used the "three essentials" to make it clear that a red-green Berlin does not intend to drive out the Western Allies.

More than the older parties, the anti-nationalist Alternative List fully accepts the division of Germany resulting from Hitler's war of aggression, including the Allied presence in Berlin. The Green critique focuses on the influence of the Allied presence on specific concerns: democracy, environment and demilitarization. Ever since the end of World War II, West Berlin has been ruled by the Allies, whose orders constitute a law that in many instances has never even been made public, but only communicated to officials who act without any legal control from the citizens. This rules out the "transparency of the state" sought by the Greens. The AL program called for transfer of Allied competence over the city's internal affairs to Berlin courts, officials and parliament, and the SPD largely agrees with this aim.

As a contribution to regional disarmament, the AL also proposed reducing Western Allied military forces to a "symbolic" presence—especially since West Berlin cannot be defended militarily anyway, but only

politically. This would also be an environmental improvement, as Allied use of West Berlin for military exercises disturbs the citizenry. The SPD would not go along with this.

However, the Social Democrats and Greens agreed that the new Berlin Senate will initiate talks with the three powers to regularize the legal situation. They promised that they would see to it that in the future, German officials cannot get around democratic procedures "by abusive appeals" to Allied Occupation law.

"We broke the taboo," explained Renate Künast. "On this, the SPD has learned a lot from us in the past few years." For 30 years nobody dared criticize the Allies. The change began in the '70s, when local citizens groups objected to U.S. plans to build more cheap GI housing on a nature reserve. Local Christian Democratic officials advised the Americans to do the building under Allied rather than Berlin law, so that the citizens would have no recourse.

There is now broad agreement between the two parties on this issue. An SPD specialist on Allied law, Dieter Schröder, cited other instances: the British allow an airfield in their sector to be used for noisy car races, and the U.S. has turned over a part of their military territory to police, who in turn handed it over to a private Road and Gun Club whose shooting annoys the neighbors. "It is not normal that citizens have no legal recourse," said Schröder. A major example is a case that has been going on for years, with citizens in Gatow searching for a court—in Britain or Europe—to hear their complaint about a shooting range for tanks in the British sector.

Schröder enumerated other subjects the new Senate plans to raise with the Allies. These include reducing the vast storehouses, stuffed with consumer goods in preparation for a repetition of the 1948 Berlin Blockade. Space retrieved from storage could be used for housing, said Schröder, noting that real estate was now scarcer than money for construction to relieve Berlin's new housing shortage, exacerbated by an influx of immigrants.

The most delicate subject is the Allies' relation to "internal security." The French have recently been accused of sponsoring agent infiltration of the leftist daily, *Die Tageszeitung*, in their sector in West Berlin. (The paper is planning to move to the American sector). The U.S. uses West Berlin as a handy listening post to tap telephone and other communications in Eastern Europe—and not only Eastern Europe. "We don't mind the Allies listening to our telephone conversations," remarked Schröder drily, "but we object that they give the information to German services outside normal democratic control." A main objective of future talks with the Allies will be to prevent abuses by German officials of the "gray zone" created by uncontrolled Allied authority.

Right attack: Christian Democrats have tried to feed panic by suggesting that the Allies are horrified at the prospect of red-green Berlin. Social Democrats insist that they want to clarify Allied rights precisely "to prevent the right from taking up the issue in a nationalistic way." The Allied Occupation Powers' official spokesmen all kept their cool and stressed that choosing their democratically elected government was the West Berliners' own business.

The worst is not always inevitable, and there is no law of nature dictating that the U.S., Britain and France have to react with

panic at the sight of the red-green colors. Indeed, the undogmatic left's anti-authoritarianism and anti-state philosophy might be considered an interesting display to put in "the showcase of the Free World" for Eastern European consumption—although the Alternatives reject the whole "showcase" concept. As several Social Democrats pointed out, there are more Greens who can't get visas to Eastern countries than members of the other established parties. The Greens, and even more the Berlin Alternative List, are absolutely allergic to German nationalism and resolutely internationalist. Their utopia is a world without boundaries and without nation-states.

Red-green Berlin is far from the Green alternative utopia. On March 6 Momper presented what he described as a "very ambitious reform program" of ecological reconstruction and social justice for a young, modern city, making Berlin a model for human ways of solving problems. Mass transport, equal job opportunity for women in public service (complete with quotas), public housing and ecological reconstruction are among its main features. The AL elected three of its own senators to be in charge of schools; ecological reconstruction; and women, youth and family affairs.

"I hope this will be a fruitful cooperation," Momper said, "that new ideas will come out of it, and that it will succeed in gaining back confidence in the ability of politics to solve problems."

There was grumbling from the AL's base that red-green is merely an SPD program. Yes, Ströbele and other AL negotiators agreed, "But it takes our pressure to get the SPD to carry out its own program." □

Red-green coalition: an opportunity or a trap?

Even members of the Alternative List, the West Berlin branch of the Greens, who fought hardest for coalition with the Social Democratic Party (SPD), did so haunted by fear that it may all end in catastrophe.

The most serious reason for these fears was the weakness, not to say the absence, of economic measures. There will be some public money spent for housing and public transport. But the SPD from the outset vetoed any measure that would touch business interests. This did not prevent business leaders from proclaiming loud and long that the new coalition would be bad for business and increase unemployment by scaring away investment.

The Greens had wanted to introduce fiscal measures to favor non-polluting industry, but the SPD said no.

More generally, some Alternatives worried that a program featuring rights for immigrants, while unable to solve economic problems like the housing shortage and unemployment, may favor the growth of the far right

Others objected to the agreement binding the two parties to mutual consultations before undertaking any parliamentary initiative. There was much grumbling in the Alternative List about this "muzzle clause."

The most immediate worry is what will happen when President George Bush decides to visit West Berlin. There will certainly be demonstrations against him. A resolution may have to be passed in the West Berlin parliament welcoming the American president. The Alternative List will want to object to Bush's policy in Nicaragua, for instance. "This could bring the coalition crashing down," some Greens gloomily predict.

But if free enterprise is what the U.S. cares about most, it can relax. The rise of the new red-green left seems related to the de facto acceptance of the capitalist system. Red-green means reform, perhaps eventually radical reform, but not revolution. In this sense, one is far indeed from the dramatic climate of the Weimar Republic in its last days.

—D.J.

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IN THESE TIMES MARCH 22-28, 1989 9

By Franek Michalski

POLAND'S CURRENT ROUND-TABLE NEGOTIATIONS can be looked at in two ways. Either they are a clear victory for the Solidarity movement, the vindication of years of underground struggle for workers' rights, civil liberties and popular political participation, or the round table is a sophisticated means of domesticating opposi-

POLAND

tion from the same ruling elite that repressed Solidarity by martial law eight years ago.

The negotiations, which began February 6 and are slated to conclude with a formal announcement of accords on April 3, consist of several minor "tables" and three major ones on union pluralism, political pluralism and economic reform. Implementation of particular proposals depends on a comprehensive settlement.

Solidarity has proposed, as a preliminary measure, that the military and internal security budgets be cut 20 percent. The government's chief negotiator, Janusz Reykowski, denounced these demands as "political." But whatever savings may be realized by this method, larger philosophical issues also have to be resolved.

The Solidarity side speaks in two voices on the economy. One set of advisers demands a free market to abolish all controlled pricing, to lower enterprise taxes and to eliminate subsidies. The other, "social democratic," view calls for a more cautious pricing policy, protection against a further drop in the standard of living by indexing wages to inflation and a commitment to retraining and



Lech Walesa (second from left): treading between statesmanship and ridicule.

Solidarity's new textbook is state and devolution

relocating workers whose plants are closed. The free-marketeers reject these proposals as costly, inflationary and ineffective in pruning industrial deadwood.

The government side, under pressure from the International Monetary Fund and foreign creditors, appears to favor the more drastic free-market proposals.

Thus far agreement has been reached on legalization of Solidarity as a nationwide organization. The government had initially insisted on a factory-by-factory accreditation. There has been no mention, however, of in-

termediate structures, such as the regional federative scheme characteristic of 1980 Solidarity.

Sowing Solidarities: A Farmers' Solidarity has also been approved without much acrimony. Acceptance of the Independent Students Association (Polish initials, NZS), however, was trickier. The student group was notorious during the past year for pressing radically anti-party, pro-independence demands. Even while the round-table talks were underway, NZS had participated in demonstrations with slogans such as "Commies out," some of which ended in bottle-throwing and arrests.

A truce of sorts has been reached. On March 8, NZS held a huge demonstration in Warsaw commemorating the "March events" of 1968. A year ago the police dispersed the same commemoration with billy clubs; this time they directed traffic out of the way of marchers.

By allowing such events, the Jaruzelski government has eaten much humble pie. From condemning Solidarity as the chief national problem, it has now embraced the union and its advisers as the last best hope of national rescue.

"We are giving up the party's monopoly on power," Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said on February 13. In 1981, before and after he helped engineer martial law, Rakowski was well known for his refusal to discuss any type of power-sharing. Yet in early January 1989, at a stormy meeting of the party's central committee, he actively supported the notion of political pluralism currently being negotiated at the round table.

The party leadership's push for reform has met resistance from local activists. On January 22 a party organization in the city of Kielce hung a huge banner on its office building that said "Down with the resolutions of the central committee! We don't want a legal Solidarity!" Party activists have been complaining that without the party's continued monopoly, their work in factories will lose all effectiveness.

The table on political pluralism has proposed drastic changes in the judicial, electoral and parliamentary systems. The debate on judicial reform shows how ambiguous the ultimate result may be. Though judges and the court system as a whole have been granted formal autonomy from political influence, particular statutes used to repress

regime opponents have been retained. These include frequently cited laws against "spreading false information harmful to the state."

In early March, in a move headlined—and even, to an extent, fetishized—in the Western media, the two sides announced agreement on legislative elections in June. A senate is to be created as the upper house of parliament, whose deputies will be chosen by competitive elections open to all. The current parliament, or Sejm, will become the new lower house. It will continue to have Soviet bloc-style "voting by slate," but the opposition is guaranteed 35 percent of the seats. A president, elected by both bodies, will have sweeping powers, including the right to veto parliamentary resolutions or to dissolve it altogether.

The proposed system has been described as a French-style "strong presidential" one, though under the circumstances it may more accurately be compared to the new Soviet arrangement. There are differences, of course, but in both there is a move toward a limited electoral pluralism, without de jure political parties and with the key position retained by the head of the Communist Party. In Poland the senate will have veto power over many of the Sejm's decisions, but the president will hold ultimate authority.

No one doubts that Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski will be elected president. Nonetheless, the new parliamentary arrangement offers the possibility of unprecedented popular influence over national policy. But the sheer number of offices available to the opposition—100 seats in the senate and 35 percent of the Sejm, as well as the myriad local administrative bodies—presents a challenge as well as an opportunity.

Legal or legal again? The government's promising rhetoric is still only the rhetoric of promises. Solidarity has been offered legal existence, civil liberties and a measure of electoral pluralism in return for its support for austerity measures in the economy. But the mood among workers is angry. Striking women textile workers in Lodz have declared, "The round table won't feed us."

For the bargain struck at the round table to be worthwhile, on the opposition's terms, it must result in an authentic Solidarity. But after eight years underground, after the emigration of many activists and after the influx of a new generation, this question remains: who exactly is Solidarity?

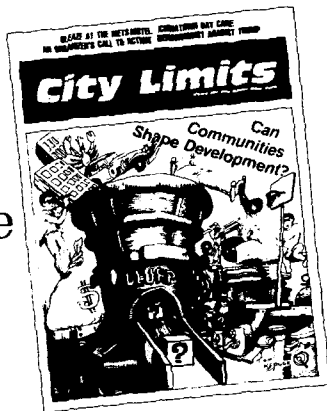
Both sides at the round table talk of "legalizing" the union, not "re-legalizing" it in its 1981 form. The people representing the Solidarity opposition in the current negotiations are members of the recently convened "Citizens' Committee working with the chairman of Solidarity." They are Solidarity members, underground activists and academic experts of unimpeachable opposition credentials.

As a body, they have no direct statutory relationship to the once-legal Solidarity. This has angered the "Working Group," a coalition led by union officials (such as Andrzej Gwiazda from Gdansk and Andrzej Slowik from Lodz) elected at the Solidarity National Congress in 1981. The Working Group demands convocation of the Solidarity National Commission to reconstitute the organization in its original form. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa is a usurper, they charge, manipulating a cult of personality to push through his own political program, which amounts to a sellout of workers' interests and national independence in return for parliamentary

Continued on page 22

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By Pippa Green

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

WHEN TREVOR MANUEL WAS FIRST DETAINED by the South African police in the predawn hours on a Cape Town winter morning, his infant son Govan was just six weeks old. He was released on July 7, 1988, under heavy restrictions, two weeks after his son's second birthday. Ten weeks later, on Sept. 21, 1988, at 4:30 a.m., the security police banged on his door and told him to pack a bag. They were detaining him again.

"I felt totally shocked, totally angry," said his wife, Lynne Matthews, then two months pregnant with a second child. "I said to the police: 'You've held my husband for 23 months, and you couldn't find anything to charge him with. And now you just come again with no valid reasons and re-detain him.' They didn't even answer me."

Manuel, 33, a senior paid official of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the country's largest anti-apartheid group, was released last month, this time under even more severe conditions. But were it not for a hunger strike, which spread rapidly throughout the jails of South Africa, Manuel might not have been released for several more months. He is one of a number of detainees freed by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in the wake of the strike, which put scores of detainees into the hospital.

The hunger strike has been the most successful weapon so far in forcing the government to release or charge political detainees. But after hailing the first releases as a victory, anguished relatives and human rights monitoring groups are now worried by the slow rate at which detainees are being freed, and by the restrictions placed on those formerly held.

On February 16 Vlok agreed to release or charge over a two-week period a "substantial number" of the approximately 900 people held under terms of the country's current state of emergency. His promise came after an unprecedented meeting that day with anti-apartheid churchmen, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev. Allan Boesak and Rev. Frank Chikane. In turn, the clerics called on the 300 detainees who were on the hunger strike to suspend their fast for two weeks to see whether Vlok would honor his word. Most detainees abandoned the strike, although several, particularly in the Natal province, continued to refuse food. As *In These Times* went to press, 30 Natal detainees were reported to be in a critical condition, while four are still hospitalized in Johannesburg.

There was jubilation when Manuel was released last month along with six other detainees in the Cape Town area. Anti-apartheid activists thought that if the police released Manuel, a high-ranking UDF official, it might open the doors for the other detainees.

The numbers game: But by March 2—the end of the two-week period—Vlok had signed only 279 release papers, freeing fewer than half the detainees. There is also a discrepancy between the number of detainees the government has said it released and the number monitoring groups can trace. Only 130 have been released so far, Faried Essack, a Moslem cleric recently told a prayer service in Cape Town. In Johannesburg, 112 detainees have been confirmed released, but 191 have left the Johannesburg Prison, said Audrey Coleman, a representative for the Detainees Aid Center. "We are worried, because we don't know whether they have been re-

Starving for freedom: detainees' hunger strikes pressure Pretoria

leased or moved to another prison." To clear up these doubts, the church leaders have asked Vlok to publish the names of those released, but so far he has refused. There have also been at least 16 new detentions in the past few weeks, according to Coleman.

Like Manuel, most of those released have been heavily restricted. Manuel cannot leave his house between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m.; he has

SOUTH AFRICA

to report to a nearby police station twice a day; he cannot leave the magisterial district in which he lives without police permission (he has to apply for permission to visit his mother, who lives in a Cape Town suburb three miles from his home); he cannot take part in politics or attend meetings; and he cannot talk to journalists. "A different kind of jail," is how Roman Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo describes it.

The restrictions indicate that while the government has not embarked on the path to reform and negotiation, it is nevertheless reluctant to risk the deaths of detainees, particularly as the U.S. Congress considers

tougher sanctions against Pretoria. Even one death would "make the world particularly sensitive to the injustices being inflicted by this government," said Dullah Omar, a spokesman for the National Association of Democratic Lawyers and himself a former detainee.

Love behind glass: That the hunger strike caught on so rapidly is a measure of the desperation of South African political detainees. Legal efforts to release the detainees have failed, as have public campaigns. Last year the government made it illegal under the emergency regulations for anyone to call for the release of detainees, some of whom have been held without trial for up to 32 months. Like Manuel, many have watched their children grow up through the glass panels of prison visiting rooms. "I took Govan to every visit," says Lynne Matthews. "He would put his hand on the glass panel separating us from Trevor and say, 'Daddy, kiss my hand.' On the other side, I would see Trevor breaking."

For the families of those who have been released, the days are still filled with fear and insecurity. At every sound of a car, at

every unexplained light that shines in the street, Manuel and Matthews look anxiously at each other, hoping it is not the security police who have come to take him from his family again.

A hunger strike by 300 prisoners has been the most successful weapon so far in forcing the government to release or charge political detainees.

"The detainees have been released as a result of enormous pressure. But the question remains whether this is a change of heart, or whether they will revert back to detention as soon as the pressure is off. Our families might be out of jail now, but for how long?" asks Matthews.

Pippa Green is a journalist based in Cape Town, South Africa.

Behind 'Mother of the Nation' Winnie Mandela's fall from grace

Winnie Mandela's plummet from her symbolic role as "mother of the nation" to public outcast has deeply hurt South Africa's anti-apartheid movement. But it has taught activists one important lesson: beware of leaders who cannot be called to account.

The charismatic wife of long-imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela has never belonged to the now-restricted United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid group in the country, nor has she held a formal ANC position. Yet she was seen here and abroad as the symbol of the suppressed liberation movement. Separated from her husband for the past 26 years, detained by police several times and banished for eight years to the barren rural settlement of Brandfort, feisty Winnie Mandela had seemingly earned her worldwide popularity and respect.

Last month that image was abruptly shattered. In an unprecedented move, Archie Gumede and Murphy Morobe, former national spokesmen for the UDF, and Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), publicly condemned Winnie Mandela on behalf of the "mass democratic movement." "We are of the view that Mrs. Mandela has abused the trust and confidence which she has enjoyed over the years," they said in a statement.

Winnie Mandela's fall from grace followed widespread allegations that her bodyguards—known as the Mandela Football Club—were responsible for the murder of Stompie Moeketsie, a 14-year-old political activist. Moeketsie was one of four youths allegedly abducted and killed by club members. The victims had been taking refuge from the police in a church at the time of their abduction.

Moeketsie's death sparked a spiral of violence in Soweto. At least three others have died. A Soweto doctor, Abubaker Asvat, who reportedly knew of the assaults on the youths, was killed, as was a Mandela bodyguard and a 14-year-old girl who was mistakenly gunned down in a reprisal for the bodyguard's death.

The extent of Mandela's involvement in the criminal acts is unclear. The statement from anti-apartheid leaders accused her of "complicity" in the abductions and assault. Eight club members have been charged with Moeketsie's murder, but no charges have yet been brought against Mandela.

Also unclear is the involvement of government agents in Winnie Mandela's downfall. The *Weekly Mail*, South Africa's best-known opposition newspaper, reported that Soweto residents long suspected that the club coach, Jerry Richardson, 41, was a police spy. Richardson is one of those charged with Moeketsie's murder.

What is clear, however, is the depth of the Soweto community's anger and fear at the activities of the club. Last September Mandela's house was burned down by "comrades"—militant township youth—in apparent retaliation for an alleged sexual assault by club members on a woman student leader. It was pressure from Soweto residents that was behind the public condemnation of Mandela, according to one source in the black labor movement. The first reports on the club's involvement in Moeketsie's death were published not in the government-controlled or supporting media, but by the *Weekly Mail*, a newspaper that was suspended by the government last year for its unrelenting anti-apartheid stance.

The formation of the club follows a series of incidents in which Winnie Mandela's political judgment has been questioned by both the internal anti-apartheid movement and the ANC. And before Moeketsie's death, both Oliver Tambo, leader-in-exile of the ANC, and Nelson Mandela sent "urgent communiques" to Winnie Mandela to disband the club, according to Morobe, a former political prisoner and detainee. But the ANC leader's wife, it seemed, was beyond the control of the organizations of which she had become such an important symbol.

After her house was burned last year, a "Mandela Crisis Committee," comprising the country's most influential anti-apartheid leaders, was formed to try to reconcile the conflict around the club. The committee has remained tight-lipped about its efforts, but it clearly failed to mend the rift between the Soweto community and Mandela.

Since her censure, Mandela has avoided commenting on the dispute, reportedly at the behest of her husband. Local anti-apartheid leaders have also refrained from further comment. Morobe and top COSATU leaders met with the ANC in Lusaka to discuss the crisis. There has been some softening, though, in the attitudes of anti-apartheid leaders around the country since the first statement was issued. Some have privately expressed fears that the statement was too extreme. One UDF-linked newspaper, *South*, reported that Nelson Mandela has urged his wife to join progressive organizations and "win the people's trust through hard work." And a senior activist said the anti-apartheid movement would try to "rehabilitate Winnie—bring her back into the fold."

—P.G.

Reach out and *TAP* someone



Cincinnati's low-wire act

This is the first of a two-part series.

By Gregory Flannery

CINCINNATI

WIRETAPPING IS EASY TO DO, HARD TO detect and a ready threat to constitutional liberties. In Cincinnati, everyone from convicted drug dealers to prominent business and civic leaders is now wondering if they were the targets of illegal taps.

For fans of conspiracy theories, this city's wiretap scandal is a cornucopia. Testimony

in a class action lawsuit in U.S. District Court has included evidence of FBI spying, possible vote manipulation, industrial espionage and even secret Masonic pacts. Leonard Gates, a former installer and supervisor for the Cincinnati Bell telephone company, has admitted to placing more than 1,000 illegal wiretaps between 1972 and 1984. He said his targets included a visiting U.S. president, three members of Congress, three federal judges and a host of local politicians, journalists, lawyers and businesses.

Robert Draise, another former Cincinnati Bell installer, has admitted to placing about 150 illegal wiretaps between 1972 and 1979. Draise's most notable targets included a Black Muslim mosque, a Hamilton County commissioner and anti-pornography crusader Charles Keating.

Last August Gates and Draise went public with their admissions after failing to induce federal authorities to investigate their wiretapping claims. Forty-eight hours after the first published report on their allegations,

c 1989 Peter Hannan

the two men were subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury.

Both testified that they placed wiretaps for the Cincinnati police division and security officers at Cincinnati Bell. Both also said they were told the FBI had authorized the taps. Their admissions before the grand jury led four alleged wiretap targets to file a \$112-million class action lawsuit against the phone company and the city of Cincinnati. Cincinnati Bell, in turn, has denied ever ordering illegal wiretaps and has sued Gates and Draise for defamation.

But written statements submitted by both men to the grand jury and testimony arising from the lawsuit point to widespread illegal tapping. U.S. District Court Judge S. Arthur Spiegel, after a hearing on FBI involvement, said the wiretap allegations call into question hundreds of federal criminal cases in Ohio's Southern District.

"This raises the issue, if true, that the U.S. attorney and the FBI tapped phones left and right," Spiegel said. "It raises the question of the validity of all prosecutions during the last 10 years."

Listening, but not talking: Overzealous law enforcement was behind the first few years of illegal wiretapping. In 1972 Draise met former Cincinnati police Sgt. Jerry Berry, assigned to the police department's intelligence unit. Draise said Berry asked him to wiretap the Black Muslims. A former U.S. Army intelligence specialist, Draise said he considered the Black Muslims politically subversive, so he wiretapped them for \$40. Berry also asked Draise to wiretap James Craven, who was later jailed on narcotics and weapons charges.

When Berry asked if other telephone installers might be able to help, Draise told Berry to contact Gates. Berry and retired Capt. Donald Byrd had Gates wiretap Frank Rinaldi, who was later convicted of income tax evasion. Gates has also testified that he wiretapped a handful of suspected drug dealers for the police.

Last December Byrd, Berry and other active and retired members of the police intelligence unit invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned in depositions about wiretapping. Byrd admitted that he knew Gates, but refused to answer when asked how they met. Byrd took the Fifth more than 90 times.

The police officers' silence ended in early March, however. Five former policemen, including former police Chief Myron Leistler, signed a statement admitting they had placed illegal wiretaps. The officers named 12 of their wiretap targets, including some that Gates and Draise had already identified.

Perhaps the most direct corroboration of a link between the phone company and the police department came during a deposition last year by Sgt. Howard Cade. Testifying under a grant of immunity from prosecution, Cade said the police placed illegal wiretaps with equipment, training and assistance from Cincinnati Bell. The intelligence unit shared information with the FBI, the IRS and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, according to Cade.

The five officers who have admitted to wiretapping said it ended in 1974. Gates and Draise have testified that they quit wiretapping for the police in 1975, only to start doing it again later that year for the phone company's security department. It was James West and Peter Gabor of Cincinnati Bell security who directed the vast majority of the illegal taps, Gates and Draise have testified.

West and Gabor have denied involvement and are parties to the defamation suit against the two whistleblowers.

According to Gates, the first person West had him tap was police officer Jerry Berry, for whom Gates and Draise had placed wiretaps. West also allegedly ordered Gates to tap the head of the FBI's Cincinnati office, the commander of the Cincinnati police vice squad, the Hamilton County prosecutor and other law enforcement personnel.

Federal law requires a court order and approval of the U.S. attorney general for a legal wiretap. But Draise placed wiretaps for Berry without ever seeing a court order. A Masonic oath was enough to convince him that the wiretaps were authorized, Draise testified. He said Berry showed him a Masonic ring and performed a secret gesture.

"I was told by Jerry Berry that it was covered by security of Cincinnati Bell," Draise said. "He gave me his word as a Mason."

Gates was more skeptical. He said when he asked about the law, West told him the FBI had authorized the eavesdropping. On one occasion a man whom West identified

Two former Cincinnati Bell employees have admitted to placing more than 1,000 illegal wiretaps between 1972 and 1984. Targets included Gerald Ford and Congress members.

as FBI Special Agent David Lichtenfeld let Gates into the federal courthouse to place wiretaps, Gates testified.

"We were told everything was covered by the FBI," Gates said. "West told me I asked too many questions, and if the FBI wanted me to know their business, they would tell me. He said the phone company is the greatest weapon the FBI has."

Wiring a Ford: West allegedly ordered wiretaps on U.S. District Court Judge Carl Rubin, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) and Rep. Thomas Luken (D-OH), among others. In each case West told him the FBI wanted the tap, Gates testified. In 1975 or 1976 Gabor ordered him to listen in on President Gerald Ford during his visit to Cincinnati, Gates said.

Ford stayed at the Stouffer's Inn in Cincinnati once in each of the two years. Howard Lucas, former security chief for the hotel, testified last November that he saw Gates, West, Berry and two other police officers in the hotel just before Ford's visit. The men were carrying wiretap equipment and asked permission to enter the hotel's telephone switching room, Lucas said.

"I asked if they had a court order," Lucas said. "They just laughed."

Two days after the encounter, Lucas testified, he found a reel-to-reel tape recorder hidden beneath some boxes in the switching room.

The wiretaps Gates said he placed for the Cincinnati police differed from the taps for Cincinnati Bell not only in targets but in method. While the police generally wiretap-

ped criminal suspects, "subversives" and "radicals," the phone company ordered taps that did not appear to serve any legitimate law enforcement purposes.

The police would call Gates at night and have him climb telephone poles to place hardwire taps. Byrd and Berry had line information, a Cincinnati Bell truck and the equipment he needed, Gates testified.

After beginning wiretapping for West and Gabor of Cincinnati Bell's security department, Gates eschewed pole-climbing in favor of a less cumbersome technique, he said. Working from a telephone company central office or switching station, Gates simply connected cable pairs from one telephone line to lines serving a phone at another location. The method, called a half-tap, basically consists of an extension line that the telephone customer doesn't know exists.

A half-tap not only is easier to place, but it also is harder to detect. A hardwire tap will register on a security check, because it diffuses the electrical voltage on a line. A half-tap from the central office causes no electrical impedance and can be detected only at the central office.

West ordered half-taps on financier Carl Lindner's boats and airplane hangar, Gates said. Half-taps on union offices, law firms and reporters allegedly terminated in telephones hooked to voice-activated recorders at apartments near the targets' homes.

Among the most startling of Gates' confessions were his repeated taps on vote-tabulating computers at the Hamilton County Board of Elections. On election night in 1979 the computers shut down for more than two hours. The malfunction was not a failure of computer hardware, but the result of his bungled interception the night before, Gates testified.

"At about 8:30 the next evening, which was election evening, Mr. West called me," Gates said. "He said we had done something to screw up the voting processor down there. He said, 'You must have done something wrong.' He said we shut it down."

Gates said he did not know if any votes were changed by his tap on the computer line. West allegedly told Gates that Cincinnati Bell wanted City Councilman J. Kenneth Blackwell out of office because he had opposed rate increases for the phone company. West allegedly used the same justification for wiretaps on former city council member Jerry Springer.

"Jim said they needed Springer out of office because of rate cases," Gates said. "West called him a little Jew bastard many times."

Gates, who describes himself as "just a hard-hat man," said he rarely heard conversations that had been intercepted. He has testified that he doesn't know who listened in or what was done with the information.

As police confess, and other witnesses confirm Gates' and Draise's reports, the fact of illegal wiretapping in Cincinnati is widely accepted as a given. The unresolved question is why the taps were ordered. Political machination was the apparent motive in some of the monitoring. In Springer's case, something forced him out of office.

In 1975 he resigned from the city council after admitting that he had paid a prostitute by check. Now a news anchorman for WLWT in Cincinnati, Springer said he doubts that a wiretap played any role in the events that led to the sex scandal. Yet Springer was one of the few targets of wiretaps that Gates got to hear.

West allegedly met Gates at Lunken Airport and played a tape of Springer on the phone.

"West had three tapes with Springer's name on them," Gates testified. "West played it at Lunken. Springer was talking to some lady. West said, 'The dumb SOB is paying her by check.'"

Doesn't ring a Bell: Cincinnati Bell first responded to the wiretap allegations in August 1988 by calling Gates and Draise liars. The company denied ever having equipment for wiretaps. But as evidence mounts, Cincinnati Bell's public relations office has refined its position. The company now calls the two men "renegades" and claims they acted on their own.

The federal grand jury has heard 60 witnesses in six months. Early this month Gates testified before it for the sixth time. A private investigator hired by the city is set to begin an investigation of police wiretapping. The different probes into illegal wiretapping have led to evidence of other police misconduct, including allegations that the intelligence unit burned the offices of the *Independent Eye*. The underground newspaper was torched in 1970 and the fire is still listed by the Cincinnati Fire Department as a case of unsolved arson.

The close relationship between Cincinnati Bell's security department and the police intelligence unit is also under scrutiny. The company has admitted that it gave police information about customers in exchange for license plate checks and criminal histories of employees.

Gates' attorney, Jeffrey Weiner of Miami, Fla., said Gates' testimony has confirmed what some attorneys long suspected but could not prove.

"Defense attorneys suspected illegal taps for years," Weiner said. "That's why this case is incredibly important, not just for your community but for the nation as well. Defense attorneys have suspected for years that the security people at the phone companies were connected to police agencies. This is not another nut. This is a real good witness with real good corroboration. It should just scare the hell out of your city."

Safeguards against illegal wiretapping are virtually non-existent. When a citizen calls the FBI about a suspected wiretap, the FBI refers the citizen to the telephone company. Only if the phone company reports a tap does the FBI get involved, according to David Lichtenfeld of the Cincinnati office of the FBI. If the phone company is behind the wiretap, the FBI is impotent to act.

"When a complaint comes in from a citizen, it's going to be referred to the telephone company, who will be the ones to verify if there's actually a tap on the phone," Lichtenfeld said. "If the allegation was that the phone company is placing the taps, I guess we could have to go outside and get somebody. Maybe we could ask another phone company. I don't know who we would contact to do that."

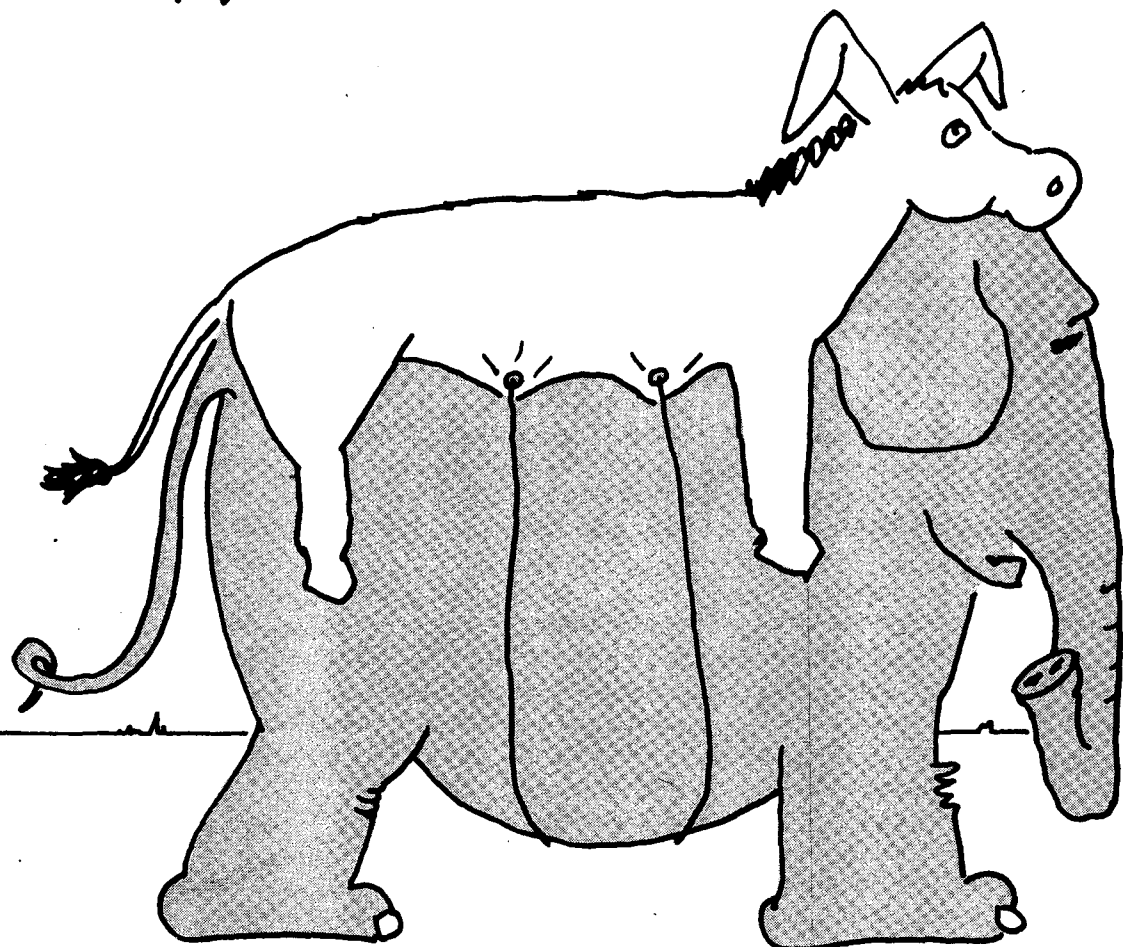
Cincinnati Bell once sent Gates to investigate the wiretap complaint of former Cincinnati police officer James Simon. Gates assured him there was no tap on the line. But Gates now admits that he lied; he's sure Simon was wiretapped because Gates did it. □

Next week: *How the wiretap coverup almost worked.*

Gregory Flannery is a reporter for Cincinnati's *Mt. Washington Press*, which first reported the wiretap allegations.

EDITORIAL

THE "NEW" NUNN - DEMOCRATS



False issue divides Democratic leadership

"We can't be all things to all people," Jesse Jackson said at the annual conference of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) two weeks ago. "We have to determine what side of history we are on. If we are all things to all people, we become rather ill-defined, indecisive—like warm spit." Jackson was arguing against the leaders of the council—conservative Democrats like Senators Sam Nunn of Georgia and Charles S. Robb of Virginia—who want to see the party renounce what they see as Jackson's class-conscious political stance and "us against them" style. DLC members would prefer to have the party continue on its path of mirroring the Republicans in an attempt to win back Reagan Democrats (see story, page 7).

This argument has been framed by Robb and Nunn as one that "divides the country" along lines of poor vs. middle class. They chose to go after what they call the middle class, while they accuse Jackson of wanting to appeal only to the poor. As Nunn put it, the Democrats would do poorly if they were perceived as "dividing the country between rich and poor, black and white." And it is true that at times Jackson appears to speak only for the poor, or at least only for those who formed a part of the traditional New Deal alliance—the poor, blacks, trade unionists, family farmers—while ignoring the millions of working Americans who think of themselves as middle class. This perception caused House Speaker Jim Wright to comment that forcing Democrats to choose between speaking for the middle class and speaking for the poor "is quite possibly the most foolish suggestion I have ever heard."

The poor and the corporate: And Wright is right—as right as Wright can be. The issue should not be a choice between different groups of working people; it should be whether the Democratic Party will represent the interests of the great majority of Americans who work for a living, or the corporate interests who now control and dominate our political system. To pit "the poor" against "the middle class" does not serve the American people; it serves only the status quo. As long as the argument is framed in those terms, political power will remain in the hands of our corporate elite.

In our view, the Democrats lose elections because they give the majority of Americans—not just the poor and minorities—little or nothing to vote for. This does mean that a disproportionately high percentage of lower-income people remain outside the electorate, but non-voters also include large numbers of young people and

members of "the middle class." Centrist pundits like William Galston, a University of Maryland professor and former top aide to 1984 Democratic nominee Walter Mondale prefer, however, to make the narrow argument. At the DLC conference, Galston crunched numbers to disprove Jackson's view that Democrats lose presidential elections because they aren't doing enough to energize their traditional base of the poor and minorities.

But Galston gave the game away when he countered Jackson's "myth" with his "real reason" for Democratic weakness. The Democrats lose, he said, because the middle class thinks they're weak on defense. And his views were echoed by Nunn and Robb, who were pleased that no one—including Jackson—challenged their view that the party must prove its commitment to protecting Americans from crime at home and aggression abroad.

Opinion majorities: If this were true, it would be understandable practical politics for Democrats to follow their would-be leadership council. But even while they spoke, a Times Mirror-Gallup organization poll flatly contradicted Nunn's and Robb's views. Conducted in late January and early February, the poll found concern about war and international tension to be at a 50-year low, and it found that only 8 percent of those polled considered crime among the most important problems facing the country.

In fact, Americans favor sharp cuts in military spending in order to reduce the budget deficit, while they oppose cuts in Social Security and Medicare. More Americans are concerned about homelessness (10 percent) than international tensions (9 percent) or crime. And when the question of the deficit was put aside, half or more of those polled favored spending increases for the drug fight, health care, programs for the homeless and elderly, AIDS research and public schools.

Furthermore, despite considerable skepticism about raising taxes, 82 percent of those polled favored raising income taxes on those earning more than \$80,000 a year, and many favored higher taxes on alcohol and tobacco.

In short, on most of the left's most controversial issues, a majority of Americans agree. These views—put forward by Jackson in the early stages of his 1988 campaign—are not simply poor people's issues. They clearly have a wider appeal, and, of course, they flatly contradict the wisdom of pundits like Galston and politicians like Nunn and Robb. The mystery is why so many leading Democrats continue to insist on Republican politics. But, then, it's not really a mystery. If they represented the interests of the American people they would sing a different tune. But they don't. Their job is to represent the interests of their corporate sponsors while sounding like true representatives of the people. It becomes harder all the time.

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"...with liberty and justice for all"

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LETTERS

Class trap

ZACK NAUTH'S ARTICLE ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN (now victory) of former Klansman David Duke (ITT, Feb. 15) ignores some important issues regarding class conflict and the ambiguities of race.

For too long the American left has failed to address the needs of white working people, concentrating its energies on racial issues at the expense of class issues. The focus has been on supporting "liberal" ruling-class strategies that seek to placate blacks (and, to a far lesser extent, other "official" minorities) by setting up special services and advantages for certain racial classifications.

This is a trap that meets the needs of the ruling class very well. All they have to do is provide a few extra privileges for blacks, tax workers in general to pay for programs most of them are forbidden to use and look on condescendingly when the inevitable resentment or racial conflict occurs. It has also been part of the ruling class strategy to target social programs nominally open to all toward the black underclass in order to stigmatize and sabotage social services such as AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) and low-income or subsidized housing.

White workers see these programs as being abused by the black underclass—and not without some justification. Many black and liberal politicians have used the "racist" epithet to silence anyone who dares to voice criticism of racially exclusive programs or the problems of crime and cultural degeneracy associated with the black underclass. It should, therefore, not be surprising that white workers will turn to extreme right-wing or even fascist politicians if they feel that is the only way to make their frustrations known. Remember, ruling-class liberalism is based on the false premise that America has no class problems, only racial problems. No lasting social change can be made without the support of the majority. No racial group is so holy it is beyond criticism. The American left ignores these truths at its peril.

Nauth has also blinded himself to another problem in racial politics—racial ambiguity and distortions. New Orleans Mayor Sidney Barthelemy and Jefferson Parish Sheriff Harry Lee are perfect examples of this problem. Barthelemy is more a symbol of racism than David Duke. A white man who passes himself off as a "superior" or better-looking variety of "black," Barthelemy legitimizes the racist idea that miscegenation "honors" an "inferior" race and "degrades" a "superior" one. Blacks who support Barthelemy have internalized the racist belief that the Negro race cannot stand on its own genetic feet and requires whites, mulattoes and other non-blacks to produce great accomplishments in the Negro's name. With the example of Barthelemy's racial prostitution, how could even the most "liberal" person not have some doubts about racial equality?

Harry Lee, the Chinese-American who has made himself a "white" hero by his stand on black crime, does not have the white ancestry of Barthelemy, but he is typical of minorities who find themselves in racially ambiguous positions. Hispanics (composed mainly of mulattoes and mestizos), Arabs (often more "mulatto" than

Barthelemy), Indians, Asians and most of the Creoles, Cajuns and other Southern groups of "tainted" ancestry become more conservative when confronted by Barthelmy-like glorifications of stigma and fear the specter of forced assimilation.

Let's start addressing these taboo subjects of class and race—before it's too late.

A.D. Powell
Madison, Wis.

Bourgie-bourgie

AS A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST AND CATHOLIC Communist, I wage unrelenting struggle against bourgeois atheism. For all atheism is inherently bourgeois, fragmenting our species into hedonistic individualism.

Atheism is alien and hostile to the working-class virtue of solidarity and is, therefore, once again, bourgeois, including in particular the militant atheism of the Stalinist state bourgeoisie enforcing state monopoly capitalism. For if God cannot hold the human race together, there remain only the state, appetites and fear to organize the human race. The latter is precisely the utterly bourgeois agenda of all atheists. It is only society organized around God, the voluntary church and a democratic socialist economy, or it is society organized around the state, with its routinized violence. There is no other alternative. Either peace, love and justice—the aspirations of the working class—or gluttony, competition and oppression—the vices of the bourgeoisie.

It infuriates me to see you publish anti-Christian, atheistic, abortionistic articles, letters and remarks, and advertisements for atheistic drivel, but you refuse to publish my letters of last fall on Christian Communism, or the psychohistorical and real historical roles of Christ, the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene. Publish both views, by all means, but don't suppress the one for the other. If you don't publish my letter on Christ, the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene it will be clear you are incapable of being a democratic, objective newspaper in service to the working class.

Your series by Dick Russell on the greenhouse effect was excellent. I suggest you republish all three in a single pamphlet form and make it available to activists. It shows, once again, and patently, that this glorious Earth was not created by man, that mankind is not the creator but merely the steward of this Earth—and for that matter, this cosmos—and that the Earth is too unique and precious to have come about by mere chance, but is rather the systematic, lawful projection of a conscious being in whose image we are and who is clearly our loving parent. As the Scripture puts it: "Know ye

that the Lord is God: it is s/he that hath made us, and now we ourselves; we are his/her people, and the sheep of his/her pasture." (Psalm 100:3).

We are now in danger of defiling that pasture and destroying ourselves, all because of self-indulgent hedonism, organized into its most systematic form, militaristic capitalism, of both the state and the oligopoly forms. In order to preserve the Earth that is our pasture, and ourselves, we must not only change social organizations along the lines of democratic socialism, we must also change our patterns of life and thought and feeling along the lines of loving devotion. This is a tall order, and it is absolutely impossible psychologically to fulfill it by accepting the atheistic, abortionistic agenda.

Thomas J. Kuna-Jacob

Moral blindness

I'M AWARE THAT IN THESE TIMES PRIDES ITSELF ON being non-sectarian and open-minded, but open-mindedness shades into empty-headedness with the adoring interview with Elie Wiesel (ITT, March 1).

What is this man doing in an ostensibly left-wing newspaper? Wiesel is not a man of the left and is not remotely progressive in any form. He's a hypocritical Reaganite who has made a career out of criticizing the world for its crime of silence vis-à-vis the Nazis, while remaining silent himself regarding Israeli persecution of the Palestinians. He can be very eloquent on the question of Auschwitz. Yet far from being an enemy of oppression, he's emerged as the chief apologist for the increasingly right-wing, repressive Israeli state.

In his interview, Osha Davidson gives Wiesel full rein to do what he does best, which is to blather on emptily about other people's moral failings while remaining blind to his own. In the space of about a dozen paragraphs, he manages to shed a tear over South Africa, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Bangladesh and Latin America, while somehow managing to overlook a certain corner of the globe where, morally speaking, he's got a good deal more at stake.

Since the Holocaust, he declares, "we have learned certain things. We have learned to interfere in other people's business. After all, human rights activities are interference in the domestic activities of other nations."

Then why does he make it a point of honor *not* to interfere in Israeli internal affairs (as he once told an interviewer) as long as he lives outside the confines of the Jewish state? Are some domestic activities more sensitive than others? "To have harm-

less people, hungry people," he says, directing his attention to the streets of New York, "...is beyond me. I don't understand it."

Then why not put in a word or two about the 14 Palestinian families rendered homeless last year when Israeli troops knocked down their houses in retaliation for the slaying of Tirza Porat (who was actually killed by a right-wing Jewish settler)? Or the millions of Palestinian exiles who are kept from returning to their homes by Israel's racist Law of Return? Don't they merit sympathy? Or is their plight too difficult for poor Elie to understand as well?

Daniel Lazare
New York Editor, *In These Times*

The straight dope

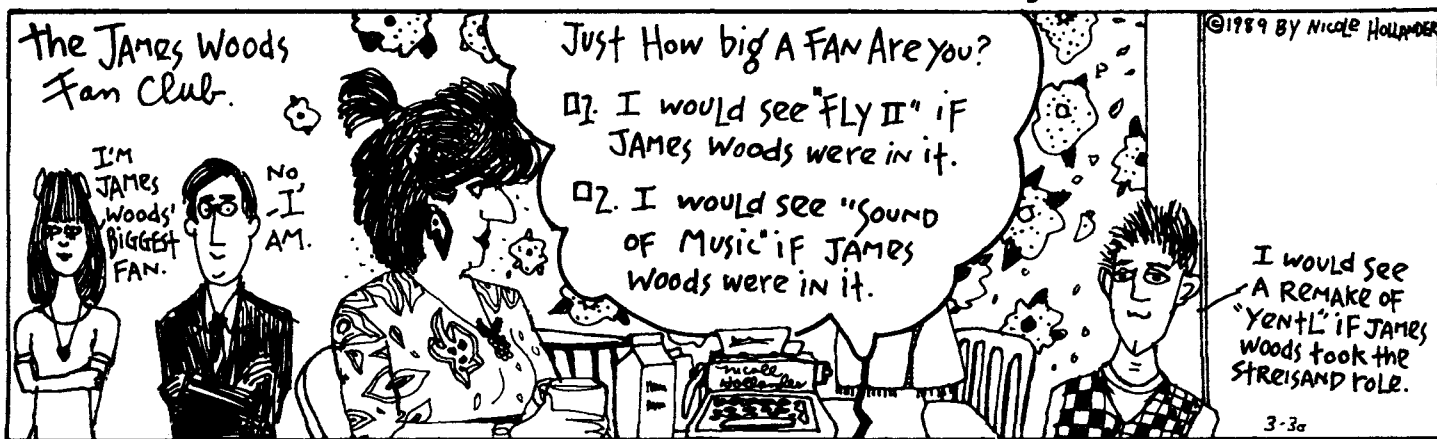
D. SCHWARZ (LETTERS, FEB. 22) BEGS THE QUESTION concerning the relative intrinsic harm potential of licit vs. illicit drugs. He probably assumes that the *mala prohibita* laws (illegal by statute, rather than crimes that are evil in themselves: *mala in se*, e.g., murder, assault, robbery, etc.) are related to pharmacology, but unfortunately empirical evidence played no part. Hearsay and emotional pleas driven by ignorance, power-seeking and unmuzzled racism generated our seed-bearing plant prohibitions (*Drugs and Minority Oppression*, J. Helmer, 1975, Seabury Press).

In virtually every instance it's the effects of the prohibition that cause the serious problems, not the growing or using of *verboten* plants (Consumer's Union). Studies done in Oregon and Holland indicate little change or a decrease in herb use following penalty reductions. "Are laws the only reason you abstain?" More than 90 percent say no. More troubling to me is the desire of some to control the behavior of others, even when no rights are violated.

Allowing free agricultural commerce would make those plants no more subject to corruption than corn, soybeans, cotton or tobacco. Ending groundless prohibitions would be surrendering only to historical truth and the Constitution. These "holy" plants have always been available—being illegal only further corrupts the system, tends toward a police state, allows Third World intervention under another name, and enriches a very few while exploiting and abusing the taxpayer, the small farmer and the consumer. Billions are spent to keep those renewable resources (fiber, pulp, oil, protein and medicine) from competing with synthetic petrochemical products on an open market. (*Marijuana: The First 12,000 Years*, E.L. Able, 1980, Plenum Press.)

Cullen Stuart
Lincoln, Maine

SYLVIA

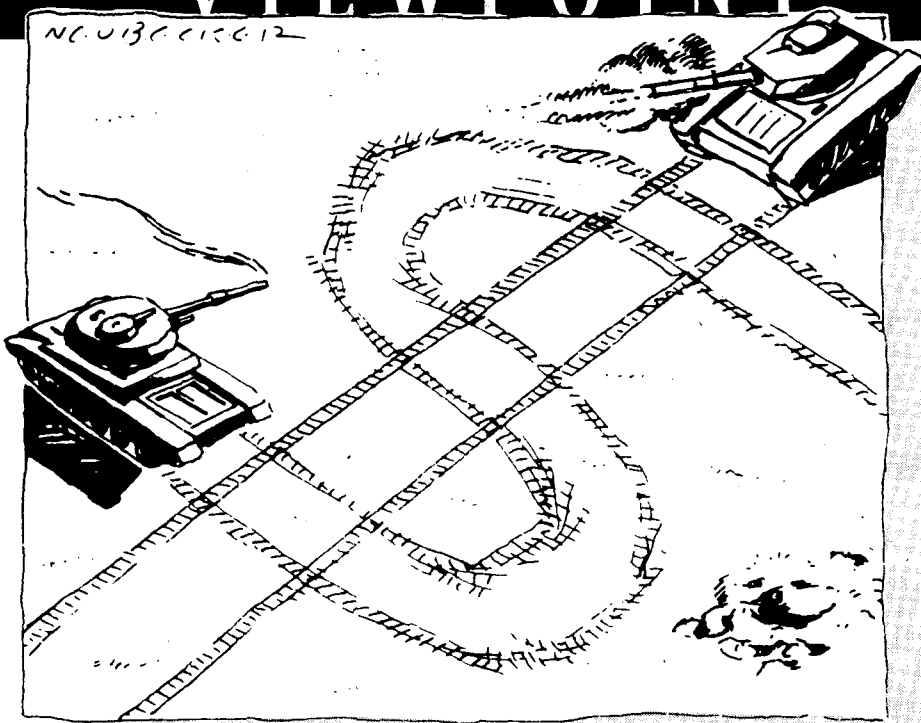


by Nicole Hollander

LAST DECEMBER 19 PRESIDENT-ELECT George Bush named Jack Kemp to be his secretary of housing and urban development, calling Kemp "a driving force in Congress" behind the 1981-83 tax cuts that produced "the longest economic peacetime expansion in our history." Three weeks later, in his farewell address, President Reagan boasted that his economic policies brought about "the longest peacetime expansion in our history." The near-identical phrases used by both men refer to the current upswing, which began in November 1982 and is now 76 months old. In fact, Bush and Reagan were repeating what nearly everybody has heard or read over the past year or so in news reporting on the economy. On March 6, for example, *Business Week* used those very same words to suggest that "a kinder, gentler business cycle" may be unfolding before our eyes.

Guns and money: Did the record-breaking expansion of the '60s take place during "wartime"? If the implication is that the expansion was at least in part driven by Vietnam spending, the answer is yes. It should even be noted that the first stage of the boom was launched by the Kennedy arms buildup. In his first year and a half in office, President Kennedy pushed military outlays up more than 9 percent in real (inflation-adjusted) terms.

But the basic question is the degree to which military spending of any type stimulates the economy, whether it goes to fight hot wars or to prepare for them. In this respect, the Reagan-Bush expansion has been little different. From 1982 through 1987, real gross national product (GNP), personal consumption and fixed business investment (purchases of plant, machinery and equipment) all grew by 21 to 23 percent. Military outlays rose 37 percent.



United Feature Syndicate

Furthermore, military spending in the '80s has been more sustained than in the '60s. It actually declined from mid-1962 through the first quarter of 1965, and at the end of the decade it still constituted a small-

Under Republicans or Democrats, the engine that drives the U.S. economy is the same one that pulls the military gravy train and drives social programs into the dirt.

to 6.7 percent by mid-1986, although it will drop off modestly through 1989. And these figures are understated. The Reagan admin-

"Defense spending increases probably provided the greatest momentum to growth in recent years," stated the chief economist for U.S. studies at Wharton Econometrics in 1985. "About 15 to 20 percent of the employment gains we've seen in the past three years are directly or indirectly due to defense spending." Much of the Reagan defense buildup also "required production from durable manufacturing industries in which non-defense production was either declining or growing slowly," as a 1987 study by the Department of Commerce and Bureau of Labor Statistics found.

For over four decades now the "iron triangle"—Congress, the Pentagon and the prime arms contractors—has kept the double-edged sword of military spending well honed. One edge bolsters aggregate demand, and corporate profits, in the economy; the other keeps resources away from a potentially vigorous and attractive civilian government sector. For much of corporate America and its right-wing allies, military expenditures have acted as a regulatory mechanism, expanding government support for private enterprise and limiting the expansion of the hated federal government for virtually all non-military purposes.

In the '50s, the military sector was a major force—the dominant one, by some measures—behind the growth of the economy and the final banishing of the ghosts of the '30s. In the late '60s, Vietnam-related constraints on the federal budget stopped the only serious postwar effort to enlarge the welfare state. And in the '80s, another round of sharply higher Pentagon appropriations helped roll back an array of social programs built up over the preceding 50 years.

It is a pattern that will be worth tracking, as Mikhail Gorbachov struggles to reduce the weight of arms spending on his faltering economic machine, and as U.S. national security managers scramble to find reasons not to match him.

Richard B. Du Boff teaches economics at Bryn Mawr College. He writes frequently for *In These Times*.

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By Adam Jones

A WEEK OR SO BEFORE VISITING RAMALLAH I chanced on two young Britons, workers at the Evangelical Home for Boys, in a lineup at the Egyptian Consulate in Tel Aviv. They invited me to drop by the home. Was I interested in knowing more about the situation in the West Bank? Then I should speak to the director—he had plenty to say.

For some reason, I'd pictured an elderly Englishman in exile, railing against the Palestinian militants who were obstructing the education process, with a few swipes at the Israeli occupiers for good measure. I certainly hadn't expected Rev. Audeh Rantisi—a 51-year-old Palestinian who happens to be an Anglican minister and ex-missionary, a warm and buoyant man who peppers his speech with references to Palestinian "slavery" and Israeli "atrocities."

We spoke in the booklined living room of Rev. Rantisi's quarters at the Evangelical Home overlooking beautiful terraced hill-sides of Ramallah. Pat, his English wife, served coffee and lunch.

Earlier, when I arrived, Pat had told me: "Ramallah used to be a Christian town. But there has been so much emigration overseas and to the other Arab countries—even before 1948, but especially since 1967. I'd say there are fewer than a thousand of its original inhabitants remaining. Most of the people here today are refugees from the coastal towns."

But Rantisi rejects the "refugee" label. "I prefer to say I was uprooted." For him, it is not a semantic distinction, but one that goes to the heart of Palestinian identity. And he makes a similar point concerning the term *intifada*. "*Intifada* does not mean 'uprising,' [the usual translation]," he tells me. "It actually means 'shaking off.'"

"When I try to explain it to Christians, I use Matthew, Chapter 10." In that chapter Jesus instructs his disciples on their mission: "Whoever does not receive you, nor heed your words, as you go out of that house or that city, shake off the dust of your feet."

Shaking off what, precisely? For Rantisi, the answer is the multifaceted mechanism of foreign oppression and control that penetrates to every corner of Palestinian economic and political life.

"Politics and economics go hand in hand," he says. Since the occupation began in 1967, "Israel's policy has been to treat the West Bank as one would milk a cow. To try to take the people from their land, get access to a source of cheap labor and introduce taxation—which is a violation of international law; no occupying power is permitted to impose taxation."

"Just this morning the taxmen made a raid on some shops in Ramallah—maybe you saw the stores locked up on your way in. They took away five shopowners [accused of not paying their taxes]."

Back to the source: Twenty years of occupation and military rule go some way toward explaining the Palestinian rage. But to understand the *intifada* properly, Rantisi argues, one must go further back—to 1948, to the birth of both the Israeli state and the Palestinian diaspora.

"It began with the evictions," he tells me. "One hundred thousand people summarily evicted from Ramle, Lydda and the other towns" within the borders of the newly de-

The West Bank: not an occupation, a profession

clared Israeli state. Among them was a young boy named Audeh Rantisi.

"We were sent on a three-day march to what is now the West Bank. The soldiers came in on July 5. It took [Israeli leader David] Ben-Gurion a week to decide what to do with the Arabs, and then the order came down: out with them."

"On July 11 soldiers went all over town, knocking on doors. They told the people to leave, and to leave their doors open after they went. We thought it was just a search, like the British had done. But it was an exodus without return."

"We were forbidden to take the main roads. And of 100,000 people, 4,000 died of exhaustion and thirst. In three days."

The U.N. partition plan for Palestine, Rantisi notes, gave 56 percent of the land to the Jews. "At the time they comprised about one-third of the population of Palestine and owned just 5 percent of the land. They ended up seizing 77 percent of the state. That was designed to ensure no Palestinian state would be envisaged, or viable, in the future."

For Rantisi, it was proof that "in politics there is no human feeling or conscience."

"All the U.N. decisions and declarations since 1948"—such as those calling for a "just solution to the refugee problem"—"were just ink on paper. No action. People waited for the Arab regimes to do something. Nothing happened."

"It was like putting a pot of water on a slow fire: it eventually reaches boiling point." When the *intifada* began in the Gaza Strip on Dec. 9, 1987, "it was as though people had suddenly woken up. Israel at first said it was all the work of a segment of the population, 'inciting' others. But that wasn't it. It was like a fever that touched everyone—a determination that we would not live in slavery any longer."

New reality: Since that first shocking conflagration, Rantisi says, the Israelis have been "like fish out of water."

"They have tried everything to quench the *intifada*. They shot people. They broke bones. They buried people alive—not only in one instance. They dropped people from helicopters. They used poison gas on crowds—not tear gas, gas that affected the respiratory and nervous system, that made women abort, that killed young children and old people. In their sieges of settlements and refugee camps they stopped food and medical supplies from getting in. Nothing worked."

"If the Israelis want to live in this part of the world," Rantisi says with finality, "they will have to learn how to make friends and not enemies."

Prime target: One aspect of Israeli occupation policy is the systematic assault on all levels of education in the Occupied Territories.

In his capacity as director of an Anglican home that doubles as a school for boys (an affiliated girls' school is across the street), education is a topic close to Rantisi's heart.

Rantisi, together with other educators, has been working to provide Palestinian

children with at least a semblance of education in the face of overwhelming obstacles. Files of material have been compiled for delivery to students at their homes, and makeup exams have occasionally been organized. All such measures have now been outlawed by the occupation authorities.

"Education is the simplest, most basic right for any person," Rantisi says. "It is the key to their becoming socialized [and] taking their place in the world. If you take it away, you are doing more than denying them education. You are stripping them of their humanity."

"The Israelis know they are fighting us with their technology and education. They don't want us to rise to their standards."

Politics and religion: By this time I'm beginning to feel that Audeh Rantisi talks like no other Anglican minister I've ever met. I ask him if he has any trouble reconciling his political views with his religious beliefs.

He shrugs. Quite the opposite, he says. The politics "comes out of my Christian beliefs—that God created man and gave him full rights, the right to be free, not to be dominated by anyone."

What about the fate of Christians in an independent Palestinian state? Another worker at the home had voiced his fears to

me that persecution would be inevitable, given the forces of Moslem fundamentalism gathering steam in the Occupied Territories, as elsewhere.

Rantisi dismisses the prospect out of hand. "This wave of fundamentalism you find all around the world—among Jews, Christians, Moslems. Here, perhaps 2 percent of Palestinians belong to such organizations. But it's something the Israelis encourage, because it drives schisms between our people."

"It is clear in the Algiers Declaration that the state of Palestine is to be a secular state, with no discrimination on the basis of color or creed. And it will be a democratic state. If there will be any truly democratic state in the Middle East, it will be Palestine."

"Even Habash [George Habash, leader of the hard-line Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] said in Algiers that although there were things in the declaration he disagreed with, he would abide by the will of the majority. That is democracy."

Or is Habash biding his time?

Rantisi's energy and commitment are impressive. But can he really say he is optimistic about the future?

"I am optimistic. Truth is truth. Truth will prevail and right will take its place. You know, perhaps might will be used to undermine right—but only for a time. God willing, very soon we will have our own state, on our own land. Because right is might, and not the other way around."

Adam Jones is co-editor of *Latin America Connections*, based in Vancouver, B.C. He is presently traveling in the Middle East.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

By Karl Bermann

THE JANUARY 23 SUPREME COURT decision overturning a Richmond, Va., set-aside plan for minority contractors, followed by the election of former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard David Duke to the Louisiana legislature, has civil rights supporters wondering whether—in the long seesaw struggle for black equality—racism is once again on the upswing.

Nowhere is the history of those ups and downs more evident than in Richmond itself. Standing on the banks of the James River, Richmond looks like the old industrial and commercial center it is. The city established itself as an important manufacturing hub soon after it became Virginia's capital in 1780, processing and exporting flour, tobacco and iron. Today Reynolds Metals has replaced the massive Tredegar Iron Works that once turned out munitions for the Confederate armies. Philip Morris, also located here, testifies to the continued importance of tobacco. Later arrivals include pharmaceutical companies like A.H. Robins, maker of the notorious Dalkon Shield.

Today blacks comprise half of Richmond's quarter-million population. They provide much of the labor that keeps its industry humming, just as they did two centuries ago, when James River plantation owners hired out slaves by the year to work the city's factories. But in early Richmond blacks performed much of the skilled labor also.

Building freedom: As elsewhere in the South, black craftsmen in Virginia established themselves in many trades decades before whites. In fact, black carpenters and masons built Richmond. Many were slaves, of course, but not all. By working extra hours beyond what was required of them, some saved enough to buy their freedom, and many building tradesmen numbered among antebellum Richmond's free black population—one of the largest in North America.

It might seem odd, then, that when blacks finally achieved a measure of political power here after the 1960s civil rights movement, they found virtually no black contractors working on city construction projects (the situation they sought to rectify with the 1983 ordinance, now overturned by the Supreme Court, which set aside 30 percent of the city's contracts for non-white businesses).

Ironically, the end of slavery doomed blacks' pre-eminent position in the Richmond construction industry. During the backlash against emancipation and Reconstruction they were forced out of skilled jobs by an alliance of white workers, who sought a monopoly for themselves, with planters and industrialists, who saw Jim Crow as a way of ensuring that former slaves would remain a source of cheap and "man-



Contrary to recent Supreme Court decisions, the pernicious economic and social legacy of segregation continues.

Rich get Richmond, blacks set aside

ageable" labor.

Once the capital of the Confederacy, Richmond is a place where you can't escape history. Prominently displayed in the law office of black City Councilman Henry Marsh, who co-sponsored the affirmative action ordinance, are facsimile copies of the Emancipation Proclamation and other documents charting the progress of civil rights. A few blocks away, just this side of the Confederate White House and the state Capitol building designed by Thomas Jefferson, is Richmond's modern high-rise City Hall.

Mounted in one of its elevators is a poster depicting a Confederate army surgeon's manual. In the background Confederate soldiers fire on unseen Yankees, while the "stars and bars" flies prominently overhead. In another elevator, meanwhile, the poster honors Maggie Walker, a leader of Richmond's black community early in this century who defied rampant Jim Crow racism to become a successful banker and patron of black self-help organizations. The elevator posters seem a fitting comment on the ups and downs of the city's race relations.

Viewed from Richmond-on-the-James, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's majority opinion in the recent Supreme Court decision seems a bit unreal. Does she really think this city needs to establish "identifiable" patterns of discrimination? Perhaps she confuses this with some other Richmond.

In any event, O'Connor and her colleagues would find a visit here highly educational. Just a block from City Hall, the Valentine Museum recently opened a new exhibition titled "Jim Crow: Racism and Reaction in the New South." On display at the Valentine, which bills itself as "The Museum of the Life and History of Richmond," is the enduring evidence of black experience in the city from Reconstruction to the dawn of the

modern civil rights movement. One wonders how Justice O'Connor would square that experience with her thesis that blacks' history has no legal weight.

Nothing to crow about: The very name Jim Crow, taken from a black stock character in 19th-century minstrel shows, refers to the system of legal segregation and discrimination adopted throughout the

RACE

South in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The restroom door with the words "White Men," the full-size photo blowup of the interior of a segregated Richmond streetcar, the advertisement for homes in a "whites only" suburban development, the 1929 study documenting discriminatory conditions as the cause of higher mortality among Richmond's blacks—these prove that the 14th Amendment, which O'Connor cited on behalf of whites in overturning the Richmond affirmative action plan, has never had legal weight here for blacks.

Faced with Southern recalcitrance and Northern indifference, blacks in Richmond, as elsewhere throughout Dixie, found it impossible to redeem the promise of equality held out by postwar Reconstruction legislation. The 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, pushed through Congress by Radical Republicans to guarantee freed slaves equal protection and the right to vote, soon became, as one Southern newspaper put it, "dead letters on the statute book."

As Eric Foner notes in his book *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, owing to its complicated postwar political situation Virginia alone among the former Confederate states did not undergo a period of radical Reconstruction. Nevertheless, blacks participated in political life and held public office

here in the years immediately following the Civil War. They took part in the 1868 state constitutional convention, which introduced the secret ballot and a public school system for the first time in Virginia. The original manuscript of that constitution is part of the "Jim Crow" exhibition, as is the reactionary 1902 constitution that replaced it—establishing a set of voter requirements disenfranchising most blacks.

Only where there is true racial equality can the law be truly color-blind. But the Valentine exhibition proves that even during Reconstruction Richmond blacks did not stand before the bar as whites' equals. Even before the racists had fully "redeemed" Virginia from Reconstruction and instituted legal segregation, white courts convicted blacks of petty crimes with much greater frequency than whites, sentencing them to floggings, long jail terms and the chain gang.

Racist rollbacks: The Democrats, who based their postwar election platforms entirely on racist appeals, lost no time finding ways to use the law to reverse black gains. In an 1876 map we see Richmond's absurdly gerrymandered Jackson Ward, its boundaries drawn to isolate and minimize black political strength. Having employed intimidation, vote fraud, gerrymandering and de facto segregation to reduce the space for black political and civil rights, white racists adopted Jim Crow legislation to lock blacks into second-class citizenship.

In the rabidly racist atmosphere of the late 19th and early 20th centuries new laws mandated racial separation in public accommodations, education and social activities—flaunting disregard for the 14th Amendment. The same climate favored growth of the Ku Klux Klan, shown here in period photos parading through downtown Richmond.

Many blacks reacted by turning

inward, relying on self-help organizations and trying to make the best of a bad situation. A few kept alive a spirit of militancy, however. Among them was John Mitchell Jr., the editor of the *Richmond Planet*, who in 1904 organized a year-long boycott of the newly segregated city streetcars.

The timeliness of the Valentine exhibition is not lost on Gregg Kimball, its curator, who nevertheless says it wasn't planned with current events in mind. But Kimball has been amazed by the reactions, particularly among young visitors—black and white—who profess complete surprise at the existence of Jim Crow.

Kimball seems to enjoy controversy. "An exhibit needs to ask some tough questions," he says, "maybe even some radical questions. We want to get people to talk about the exhibits." Without a doubt the display that has the most people talking (and some upset) is the Ku Klux Klan robe and hood. Eerily lighted behind a gauze screen, the garments look like a phantom Klansman emerging from the mist. It is a disturbing reminder, if one is needed, that blacks' epic battle against racism and reaction—whether cloaked in bedsheets or the robes of the judiciary—is far from finished.

Eric Foner's Reconstruction: "Jim Crow: Racism and Reaction in the New South" will be at the Valentine through August 21. Supreme Court justices and others seeking to understand the background of Jim Crow—as well as those unable to visit Richmond—will be justly rewarded in reading Eric Foner's encyclopedic but deftly narrated *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (Harper & Row). Never losing sight of blacks' own efforts and struggles, Foner disentangles the jumbled political and economic crosscurrents that swept North America in the aftermath of the Civil War's carnage.

Faced with apathy and even hostility from their increasingly conservative fellows, Radical Republicans waged a valiant but ultimately doomed rearguard defense of Southern blacks. The Republican Party became less and less interested in social evangelism, more and more identified with corporate fat cats, fiscal conservatism and rampant corruption. The hopes, shared by many blacks, that capitalist expansion and free labor would transform the postwar South foundered on economic reality and the limitations of free-labor gospel, just as blacks themselves saw their newly gained rights sacrificed to political expediency and the tender mercies of the Klan. Foner's *Reconstruction* is the definitive and long-overdue chronicle of a watershed era in American race relations. ■

Karl Bermann is a freelance historian living in Virginia who writes regularly for *In These Times*.

By J. Poet

Kassav': World Beaters on a mission

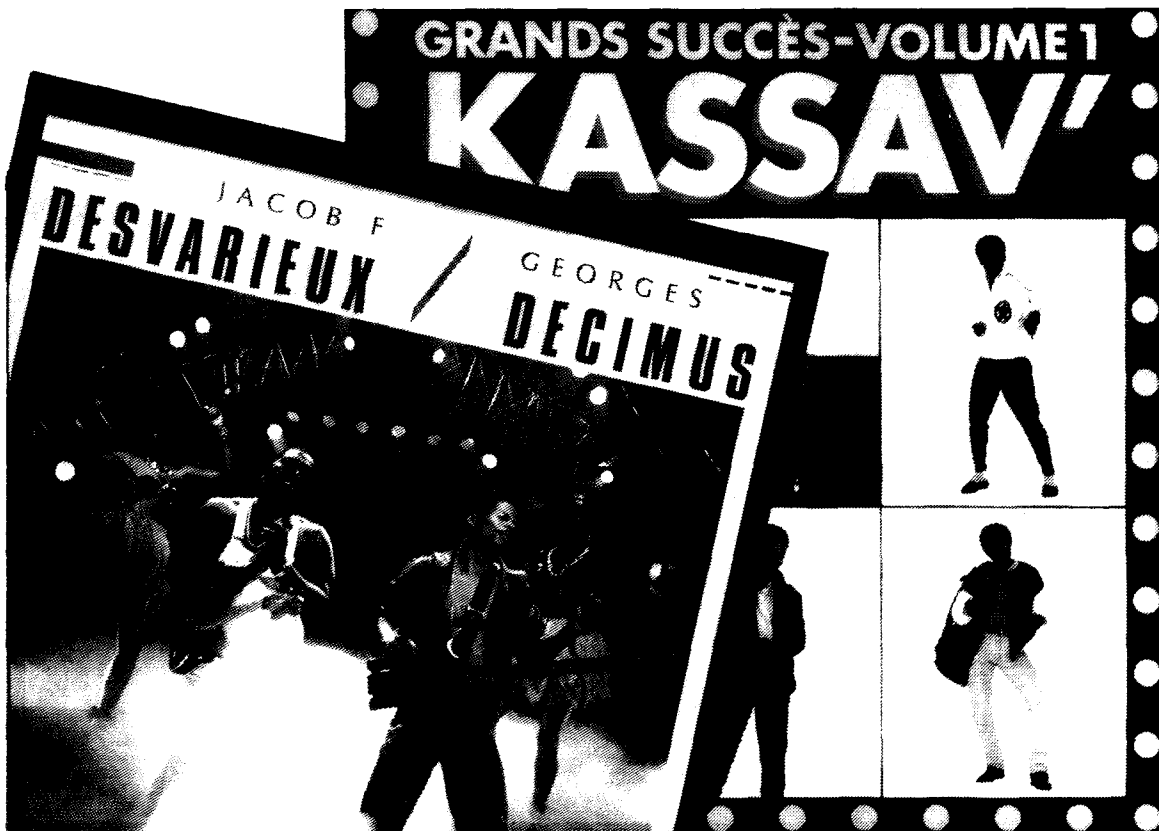
MUSICIANS WHO DEVELOP whole new ways of playing and listening to music are few and far between. Chuck Berry did it when he combined boogie-woogie, country and western and blues licks to write the book on rock'n'roll guitar, and Led Zeppelin's Jimmy Page did it by taking Berry's licks back to their blues roots and playing them at ear-shattering volume to invent heavy metal. Berry and Page both had a major impact on the international scene, and in their wake Anglo-American rock became the only pop music that mattered.

But the days of Anglo-American cultural domination are coming to an end. All around the world people are rediscovering their own musical roots and concocting exciting new hybrids. By mixing Third World rhythms with classical European forms and the driving beat of American rock and disco, a new generation of musicians is redefining international pop. One of the leaders of this movement is Kassav', a Caribbean supergroup from Guadeloupe that is currently one of the most popular bands in Europe, Africa and the islands. In recent years they've had three gold records in France (the first group from Guadeloupe ever to do so) and originated a whole new style of music: *zouk*.

Heartbeat, it's a World Beat:

In 1989 *zouk* (French Creole slang for both "party" and "sweat") is probably the world's most dynamic dance music. It borrows from West African forms like *soukous* and high-life, adds the drive of *soca*, the lilt of reggae, the European penchant for melody and kicks it into overdrive with plenty of rock guitar and the strangely fractured rhythms of *gwo ka*, the Guadeloupean drum patterns brought to the island from Africa. *Zouk* is influencing most African pop, and Western Europe has been *zouk* crazy since Kassav' swept the continent with "Zouk-La-Se Sel Medikaman Nou Ni" (Zouk Is the Only Medicine You Need) in 1984. Recently, CBS International jumped on the bandwagon and signed Kassav' to an international deal.

Although it has been out in most of the world for more than a year, Columbia didn't release *Vini Pou* in the U.S. until late December, and the company seems unsure of what to do with Kassav' here. When I tried to track the band down on their recent North American mini-tour (L.A., New York, Miami, Washington, D.C. and Montreal, all cities with heavy populations of expatriates from Guadeloupe), nobody I spoke to at CBS publicity knew the band was on their label. I finally called a few of my World Beatnik buddies and got connected to Jocelyne Beroard, one of Kassav's three lead singers, to get some back-



Kassav': forging an irresistible pop alloy from African, European, American and Caribbean sources.

ground on the band and their music.

"For almost 20 years, 'til the late '70s, Guadeloupe was dominated by the music of Haiti," Beroard says, in her lightly accented English. "Many Haitians lived and recorded in New York. They had good horn sections because of all the good musicians there, and the studios in New York had a slick sound. The studios in the Antilles weren't as technologically advanced, so our own records didn't sound so good. Most bands in the French Antilles [Martinique and Guadeloupe] were copying Haitian styles."

"In 1979 [Kassav' founder Georges] Edouard Decimus decided to quit the music business, but before he did he wanted to make one last record, a record that would project more of a Guadeloupean style, that would present the musical traditions of our people to the world. He had been in the Vi Kings de la Guadeloupe for about 15 years, and they were very popular, but although they were doing some jazz, most of the music was still based on *cadance* and *compas* [Haitian styles]. Edouard took the *gwo ka* drum rhythms of Guadeloupe—the music that had been brought from Africa by the slaves, and mixed it with some of the other styles popular in the Caribbean, and that was the beginning of Kassav'."

E pluribus unum: The first Kassav' LP, *Love and Ka Dance* (Ka Dance is a play on *cadance*, the Haitian style that had been dominating the charts), leaned heavily on North American funk, but its use of *gwo ka* caused a small sensation. "At first Kassav' was only a studio band," Beroard says, "because Edouard had

certain ideas about the kind of music he wanted to do. Everything was written down and the musicians would just come in and play." But Kassav' became so popular in Europe and Africa that Decimus

MUSIC

wanted to take the band on tour. In early '82 he started calling the best musicians he knew, asking them to join the band. "At first we were reluctant to get involved in Kassav', because we already had solo careers," Beroard recalls. "But eventually we realized we could help our own careers by playing with the band, so we joined full time. Since many of us already wrote music ourselves, Kassav' became more democratic,

more improvisational."

Since that first record in '79 Kassav' has been wildly successful. From their Parisian base they've been influencing a whole generation of musicians from Africa and the French Caribbean. "The studios here are better than at home," Beroard says, "so we moved here in '82. It's also easier for touring in Africa and Japan. But I still don't like wintertime very much." *Zouk* is now a source of pride for an entire generation of musicians on Guadeloupe. "Before Kassav' there weren't many live shows, because most of the groups were made up of different combinations of the same musicians. Since we started playing live, many new bands have come along to play *zouk*. Also, before Kassav' you didn't have

many women singers, and now there are many young women making a career in music."

"I know it sounds immodest, since I'm in the band," Beroard says, "but everybody in the Antilles follows Kassav'. Except for Experience 7, who have their own sound, everybody waits to see what we do on our next record and then tries to copy it. Today everybody plays *zouk*, and the bands that couldn't learn to play have died. But that's the way it is, and who knows, maybe in two years Kassav' will be replaced by another new band."

Not really a likely prospect. In the past 10 years Kassav' has continued to evolve at a rapid pace. "In Kassav' we have people from Algeria, Cameroon, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Paris—and we listen to music from all over the world. We always try to keep things fresh, to try out all kinds of music." It's this attitude of musical adventure that makes Kassav' so exciting. Each album sees them reaching out in new directions, and the musicians that have passed through the band form an extended family of alumni who produce an amazing amount of great music (more than 25 albums in 1987-88 alone).

These collaborations have made Kassav' an influential force on the world music scene. "In most bands you have one or two people who write," Beroard says, "but in Kassav' we have eight or nine, so when you only make one album a year, if everyone gets a song on it they're lucky. This can get frustrating. So I do a solo album, or maybe Jacob [Desvarieux, the lead guitarist] will work with Bopol [Mansiamina, bass player in Les Quatre Etoiles, one of the most popular and progressive Parisian/Congolese bands], whatever you can do to let people hear the music you're feeling."

J. Poet is a critic who lives in Berkeley, Calif.

Guadeloupe's Kassav' on wax: all you need is Zouk

Kassav' should be touring the U.S. this spring, but if you need a dose of *zouk* in the meantime, here are a few suggestions.

- *Vini Pou* (Columbia). This latest exploration of world dance music is the only Kassav' record that's easy to find in most American record stores. You need it.

- *Les Grande Succès de Kassav' Volumes 1 and 2* (GD French Import). "They didn't put a lot of the best songs on those records," Kassav' singer Jocelyne Beroard says, "because then the people would stop buying our other stuff, but they're pretty good if you don't have any Kassav' music yet." *Volume 1* opens with "Zouk-La-Se Sel Medikaman Nou Ni," one of the catchiest tunes you'll ever hear.

- *Love and Ka Dance* (Cellul-

Oid French Import CD). A re-release of Kassav's first two albums.

- *Kassav' with George Decimus* (CellulOid).
- *Kassav' #5* (CellulOid).
- *Passeport* (Makossa).

These are the last three albums of Kassav's early period, just before they became superstars with "Zouk-La-Se Sel Medikaman Nou Ni." They're the only Kassav' currently available on American labels, with the exception of the new CBS album.

- *Siwo* (GD French Import). Jocelyne Beroard's solo album from '86 features great songwriting by Beroard and most of Kassav' backing her up.

- *Heartbeat Soukous*, Various Artists (Virgin/Earthworks). Contains "Helena," a Kassav'/Bopol collaboration.

- *Hurricane Zouk*, Various

Artists (Virgin/Earthworks). Kassav' is featured on four tracks, Georges Decimus and the Vi Kings on one. This is probably the best introduction to *zouk* that can actually be found in your average record store.

Since Kassav' is now signed with CBS worldwide, it's unclear what will happen to the recordings of their earlier work. CBS has slapped injunctions on distributors in the past to prevent imports of the acts they control, so if you can find any of Kassav's earlier stuff in your local store, snap it up fast. Most of these records are also available by mail order from Original Music, RD 1, Box 190, Lasher Road, Tivoli, NY 12583, or Disc'Inter of Paris, 2 Rue des Rasselins, 75020 Paris, France.

—J.P.

Beyond the Laboratory: Scientists as Political Activists in 1930's America

By Peter J. Kuznick
University of Chicago Press
328 pp., \$14.95

By Benjamin Harris

THIRTY YEARS AGO, TO BE BOTH A scientist and a political activist was considered a form of multiple personality. Today, the ranks of activist scientists include such public figures as Carl Sagan, Ruth Hubbard, Stephen J. Gould and Helen Caldicott, as well as scores of members of Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Union of Concerned Scientists and Science for the People.

If asked to identify the origin of the modern role of scientist-activist, most would probably cite the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This demonstration of the science of unlimited destruction made physicists confront the inherently political nature of their work. And it was the debate of the atomic physicists that helped inaugurate similar discussions of science and social responsibility in other natural sciences, social sciences and medicine.

What is little known today is the existence of an earlier era of political organizing and militancy by scientists during the '30s and early '40s. It was in this period that scientists in the U.S. first developed a national movement to address political issues such as war, fascism, racism

Scientists try to neutralize volatile forces of reaction

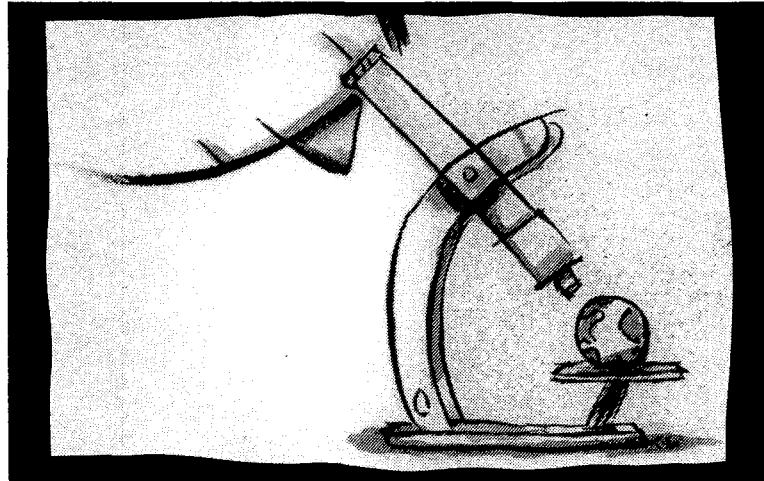
SCIENCE

and radical political change. This movement of liberal and radical scientists, neglected in histories of the left and of modern science, is described in fascinating detail by a young cultural historian at American University, Peter Kuznick, in his book *Beyond the Laboratory*.

In the early 1900s, Kuznick explains, most scientists in the U.S. were anti-collectivist in their professional outlook and politically conservative. Because they contributed to automation and often sided with management, they were also distrusted by the labor movement. Faced with the Depression, however, scientists soon radicalized both as individuals and as members of professional associations.

Philosophical outrage: As individuals, scientists such as the physiologist Walter Cannon believed in the rational organization of laboratory work and in the orderliness of the natural systems they studied. Confronted by the irrationality of laissez-faire capitalism, they felt a philosophical outrage

that spurred many to public action. Most prominent in this movement was the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (ACDIF), a Popular Front-style alliance of socialist, communist and liberal university professors, first organized in New York to rally academics in support of the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. Led by anthropologist Franz Boas, the ACDIF soon became a national organization carrying out anti-fascist and anti-racist publicity campaigns. At the New York World's Fair of 1939, for example, Boas and his colleagues staged a series of public relations events, including the opening of a traveling exhibit of racist and non-racist school textbooks and a forum explaining the scientific validity of liberal democracy.



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A second organization of scientist-activists in the late '30s was the American Association of Scientific Workers (AASW), an implicitly anti-capitalist offshoot of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Modeled after a similar organization in Britain, the AASW pursued the same anti-fascist goals as Boas' ACDIF but was organized on a more local level.

Although this movement to unite science and society was highly visible and broadly supported by leftists and prominent scientists, its organized forms did not survive the end of the Popular Front, the rise of anti-communism and the U.S. entry into the war. Yet the '30s science and society movement confronted a host of issues that were both theoretical and practical, including such questions as how to politically organize professionals, how to relate to similar movements abroad and whether the socialists and communists should consider themselves "scientific."

Beyond the Laboratory contains both organizational history and a selective review of the public image of science from the '20s through the '40s. Its strength is its author's familiarity with his material (often the unpublished papers of participants) and his smooth, non-technical writing style.

The result is an account full of minor characters and organizational detail (perhaps too full for some). And those familiar with this topic might fault the author for his neglect of the theoretical and organizational perspectives of the Communist and Socialist Parties, and of other left groups during this period. Overall, however, this is an essential guide to an exciting era for scientist-activists, one in which the phrase "political science" could be taken literally.

Benjamin Harris teaches at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside and is on the organizing committee of the Forum for History of Human Science.

Politics of Letters

By Richard Ohmann
Wesleyan University Press
321 pp., \$14.95

By William E. Cain

RICHARD OHMANN'S *POLITICS OF Letters*, first published in 1987 and recently reissued in paperback, has not received the attention it deserves. It is a serious, lucid examination of the dehumanizing impact of monopoly capitalism on culture.

Ohmann divides *Politics of Letters* into four main sections. In the first he explores "the profession of humanist" in American colleges and universities, and extends the skeptical stocktaking of academic practices and managerial techniques that he registered in his pioneering earlier book, *English in America: A Radical View of the Profession*. In the second section Ohmann surveys the teaching of American literature, with special emphasis on the formation of the literary canon and the financial power that shapes both the best-seller lists and the selection of books that "count" as high culture.

Section three concentrates on the origins and development of a national "mass culture," and includes historically astute accounts of advertising and mass circulation maga-

Alma matters: examining politics of the old school

zines. In the final section Ohmann scrutinizes the widespread belief that students today lack basic knowledge and queries the frequently deplored "loss of standards" in contemporary American education.

Ohmann is suspicious of the worried talk about a "crisis" in education, and is especially dubious about the emphasis that many horrified pundits have placed on declining test scores. Some test scores have declined, but, Ohmann argues, much of the evidence is inconclusive and contradictory. A slight test score decline does not prove that young people have suddenly become shockingly ignorant. The real issue for debate and discussion should be, instead, the highly contested meaning of "basic" or "core" knowledge in a multicultural nation, and this is an issue that the panicky interpretation of test scores crudely distorts.

In Ohmann's view, the educational and cultural elite have sounded alarms about a "crisis" largely because they are troubled by the differences in student behavior and the breakdown of consensus that have accompanied more "open" enrollment patterns. Increasing numbers of women and minorities have entered the academic mainstream—and they have aggressively challenged the ideas, values and texts that white male teachers, critics and administrators have promoted for decades.

ACADEME

"Each time the American educational system has expanded," Ohmann writes, "admitting previously excluded groups to higher levels, there has been a similar chorus of voices lamenting the decline in standards and foreseeing the end of Western civilization." And each time, too, the proposed remedy is tougher discipline, tighter control and greater regimentation, as those in authority call for reforms that make education "more mechanical, less humanistic, more classbound and less critical" of entrenched interests.

Descriptive, not prescriptive: Ohmann's analyses of literary studies, television and politics and bestseller lists also highlight the pressures of corporate power and

the anti-humanistic attitudes that purportedly "humanistic" intellectuals foster. Ohmann studies, for example, the amazing success and stature of J.D. Salinger's novel, *The Catcher in the Rye*, which has sold millions of copies since its publication in 1951 and continues to be read avidly by high school students across America. Ohmann maintains that the exorbitant appeal of the novel lies in its melancholy unveiling of "phoniness." It tellingly evokes the disturbed and often unfocused feelings that many teenagers share about personal maladjustment and the shallowness of society's values.

A striking feature of *The Catcher in the Rye* is, however, that it avoids and conceals the "economic and social arrangements" of capitalist America that produce such rampant phoniness. Neither Salinger nor his

American society provides ample opportunities for leftist critiques.

central character, Holden Caulfield, envisions any possibility for political change: life consists simply of a slow, steady march toward an eventual, pained acceptance of bourgeois

identity. The novel thus reveals the emotional damage that capitalism inflicts even as it intimates that no alternative to it could ever exist.

Ohmann suggests alternatives himself, but these are surprisingly sketchy. A number of his chapters close with weak injunctions to move beyond bourgeois reality, create a new consciousness and strive for liberation.

American society supplies almost unbelievably ample opportunities for leftist critique, and Ohmann seizes adroitly upon many of them. But capitalism seems always to enjoy the last laugh, because the weight and intricacy of its oppressive structures ensure that better pathways remain extremely hard to describe persuasively.

The rigor and precision of Ohmann's critical analyses expose the thinness of his prescriptive ideas, which are too breezily presented to seem convincing. Readers are hence left with the impression that dissent is necessary but fairly futile. *Politics of Letters* is clearly a valuable book, but at critical moments in it, Ohmann inadvertently reinforces the system that he stringently examines and opposes, by making the possibility for significant change seem distant, even hopeless.

William E. Cain is a frequent contributor to *In These Times*.

By Joel Bleifuss

Rushdie and the war of the words

IT IS SAID THAT THE BOOMING SALES OF *The Satanic Verses* are not due to the fact that the reading public has discovered that Salman Rushdie's latest novel, like his others—*Grimus* (1975), *Midnight's Children* (1981), *Shame* (1983)—is fun to read.

In all four novels Rushdie makes use of a delightful mixture of macabre slapstick, cultural conundrums and what-can-we-conjure-up-next narrative to examine issues such as: corrupted power vs. popular will, slavish adherence to a dominant culture—in various incarnations, and the problem of finding transcendent experience in the absence of faith. For Rushdie, his art provides that transcendence. As he wrote in the *New York Review of Books*, "Unable to accept the unarguable absolutes of religion, I try to fill up the hole with literature." It is on this last point that Rushdie has now run into trouble.

Rushdie writes to provoke, regularly contributing to *The Guardian* and the *Observer* of London as an intellectual agitator of the left. In 1983, despairing the absence of outrage at the re-election of Margaret Thatcher, he wrote, "Democracy can only thrive in a turbulent climate. Where there is acquiescence, cynicism, passivity, resignation, 'inaction,' the road is clear for those who would rob us of our rights."

Against stereotypes: It's a sure bet that before the publication of *The Satanic Verses*, Rushdie was looking forward to the "turbulence" his new book would stir up. But it is equally certain that this one-time student of Islamic history did not intend to offend the Moslem faithful to the extent he has. "Anybody who reads any of my books knows how powerful the influence of Islam has been," he recently told London critic Tariq Ali. "The fact that I would not call myself a religious person doesn't mean that I reject the importance of Islam in my life."

Nor is it likely that Rushdie is pleased with the way some commentators in the West—armed with little knowledge and asserting that Islam is a dangerous thing—have reacted to the fundamentalists' lunacy. Writing in the *New York Review of Books*, Rushdie explained, "I tried to write against stereotypes; the zealot protests serve to confirm in the Western mind all the worst stereotypes of the Moslem world."

Not that all Western minds needed such encouragement. In 1987 on a visit to the States, Rushdie was told by a New York intellectual, "Now that I like you, I can tell you I thought I wouldn't. I didn't think I could like a Moslem."

Conversely, this non-secular Moslem would lack patience for those pundits who, drunk with the ethic of cultural relativism, write that one has to understand Islam and be sensitive to the rage *The Satanic Verses* has inspired. Though he is sympathetic to the origins of the Iranian

revolution, Rushdie "abhors" Khomeini's theocracy.

Such ambiguities do not make easy news copy. Wire service reports have described Rushdie as "arrogant." One misinformed Eastern Airlines picket explained last week

LITERATURE

in Chicago, "Frank Lorenzo is the Salman Rushdie of organized labor." Unfortunately, the uproar surrounding *The Satanic Verses* has led to a misunderstanding of who this writer is and what he is about.

Epic anti-heroes: In 1975, Rushdie, a writer of ad copy, published his first novel, *Grimus*. It is the story of Flapping Eagle, like all Rushdie's leading men, an epic character with anti-hero tendencies. A native of what was once the U.S. but is now known as Amerindia, Flapping Eagle sets off, via interdimensional travel, to an earthly island inhabited by both an invisible alien, who plays around at conceptualizing interdimensional realities, and a community of immortal earthlings, who maintain their sanity through obsessive-compulsive behavior.

Given this plot it is not surprising that most critics panned the novel. *Grimus*, perhaps more than Rushdie's other books, is not readily accessible to readers used to pre-

dictable narrative styles or traditional literary conventions.

His writing is not "dense," as national wire services have said. It is just that the reader has to be open to the interweaving of time and place, reality and illusion. Few things are constant in Rushdie's world. For Rushdie characters even the physical body, that last frontier of individual control, can from one page to the next undergo radical metamorphosis.

Ursula LeGuin, the queen of the fantasy-as-commentary genre, was among the first to recognize Rushdie's talent. Fourteen years ago she praised *Grimus* as a "fireworks of a book: beautiful, funny and endlessly surprising."

In his later books Rushdie merged his fantastic tendencies with the temporal world, and his subsequent writing was heralded by the literary establishment.

Take for example Rushdie's treatment of *The Satanic Verses* character Saladin Chamcha. An Indian expatriate, Saladin molds himself into the perfect English gentleman. The problem is that he can succeed in British show business only as a disembodied voice—his skin is the wrong color.

Saladin's big break comes when he gets the part as a space creature on "The Aliens Show," a children's TV program about a group of extra-

terrestrials. The most terrifying of this regular cast was Ridley, an alien "who looked like a Francis Bacon painting of a mouthful of teeth waving at the end of a sightless pod, and who had an obsession with the actress Sigourney Weaver." Rushdie writes that "as 'The Aliens Show' got bigger it began to attract political criticism. Conservatives attacked it for being too frightening, too sexually explicit (Ridley could become positively erect when he thought too hard about Miss Weaver), too weird. Radical commentators began to attack its stereotyping, its reinforcement of the idea of aliens-as-freaks, its lack of positive images."

Revolutionary child: What does not change amid continual flux of Rushdie's tales are the expressions of his world view. In an interview with *In These Times* before the publication of *The Satanic Verses*, Rushdie said that historically, Third World writers have a role as active critics of their society. (He also said the U.S., as a world power, is in special need of critical voices like that of Robert Stone, author of *Dog Soldiers* and *A Flag for Sunrise*.)

Rushdie, born in Bombay the year of India's independence, describes in his Nicaragua travelogue *The Jaguar Smile* how he too is a "child of revolution."

"[T]hose of us who did not have our origins in the countries of the mighty West, or North, [have] something in common—not, certainly, anything as simplistic as a unified Third World outlook, but at least some knowledge of what weakness was like, some awareness of the view from underneath, and of how it felt to be there, on the bottom, looking up at the descending heel."

Rushdie, born in India, raised and schooled in Pakistan and England, is a product of both Indian and Western civilizations. And it is both his loyalty to and his outsider's understanding of these two worlds that gives his fiction a critical bite. But he is also, as he says, a "metropolitan citizen," an internationalist—a nec-

essary perspective in a world where the sun never sets on McDonald's.

individual and world events matter, where what the hero does with his political circumstance is as important as what he does in his personal life.

Anti-ideologies: The only one of his characters that Rushdie admits is autobiographical is the patriarch Aadam Aziz in *Midnight's Children*, a tale about the fulfilled dream of India's independence and its subsequent demise. As the story opens, Aadam, who has just returned to Kashmir from studying in Europe, tries to pray to Allah but discovers that, paradoxically, he is "unable to worship a God in whose existence he could not wholly disbelieve." As he faces west, Aadam recalls the years in Heidelberg and his ability then to ignore his friends who "scorn[ed] him for his Mecca-turned parroting... mocking his prayer with their anti-ideologies." What he found impossible to ignore, and forgive, was their belief "that India—like radium—had been 'discovered' by the Europeans... this is what separated [him] from his friends, this belief of theirs that he somehow was an invention of their ancestors."

In *Shame*, Rushdie moves from the birth pangs of a new nation to a fully evolving dictatorship. On the surface an allegory of modern Pakistan, *Shame* is also a universal tale of despotism, and the voice of Rushdie that of everyman.

Intermittently the novel's narrative takes on the voice of Rushdie the journalist visiting friends and family in Karachi. At one point he comments on the persecution of a poet friend who spent many months as a political prisoner, after having committed the "social crime" of knowing the wrong people.

Rushdie constructs an imaginary but, as current events suggest, timeless dialogue between himself and his accusers. He writes: "Wherever I turn there is something of which to be ashamed. But shame is like everything else: live with it for long enough and it becomes part of the furniture... nobody notices it any more. And everyone is civilized... *Outsider! Trespasser! You have no right to this subject!* I know: nobody ever arrested me. Nor are they ever likely to. *Poacher! Pirate! We reject your authority. We know you, with your foreign language wrapped around you like a flag: speaking about us in your forked tongue, what can you tell but lies?* I reply with more questions: Is history to be considered the property of the participants solely? In what courts are such claims staked, what boundary commissions map out the territories? Can only the dead speak?"

No. It is to be hoped that Rushdie will have the last word. Through *The Satanic Verses* and the international furor that it has wrought, Rushdie has transcended the boundaries of fiction. At a risk to his life, he has made literature matter. If we reject his authority, abandon his defense and allow only the dead to speak, the shame will be ours. ■

Rushdie's outsider understanding of East and West gives his work a critical bite.

essary perspective in a world where the sun never sets on McDonald's.

Rushdie is often compared to Gabriel García Márquez, because both write in the style that has come to be known as "magical realism." But while García Márquez takes the everyday life of a village and projects that upon the world, Rushdie begins spinning tales in a present-day society where an Indira Gandhi, a Margaret Thatcher or a Benazir Bhutto (the thinly veiled "Virgin Ironpants") share the stage with the novels' protagonists.

Rushdie creates a world where the

Salman Rushdie: a personification of tumultuous colonialism.



Jerry Bauer

Poland

Continued from page 10

seats for Warsaw intellectuals. Not round tables but shop-floor organizing ought to be Solidarity's focus. The right to refuse overtime, wage increases and unionizing of small firms are their main demands.

The Working Group, however, remains a relatively small though vocal faction within Solidarity. They have had little organizing success, even among the many plants that have struck over wages since January 1 (more than 260, by official reports).

Another criticism of Walesa, and of the "old" Solidarity as well, comes from the young workers responsible for initiating last summer's strikes. They care less about leaders' pedigrees than about their willingness to organize and fight. In Gdansk, for example, an awkward "dual power" exists. Alongside the Regional Solidarity Executive Commission, formed underground during martial

law, strikes have produced a new Interfactory Organizing Committee.

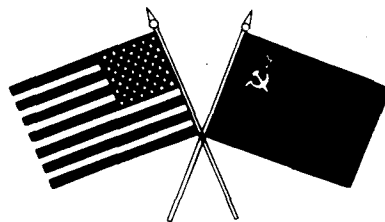
The coming storm: The government has already announced price increases of 270 percent for July, just weeks after the democratically elected parliament is to name Jaruzelski president and reaffirm the austerity program of economic reform. As prices rise and "inefficient" plants begin to close, large numbers of workers will find themselves unemployed.

Whose side will Solidarity be on? Will the union be promoting a "rational" economy that squeezes workers even further? Or will it fight a rearguard action for wage indexing and retraining and relocating workers? It's an unhappy set of options.

Solidarity's organizational strength will be crucial both for defending workers and for influencing economic policy. Solidarity needs to expand beyond its present base in large enterprises to smaller plants and rural areas, where it is still weak. Above all, re-

gional networks must begin to function in order to cope with the chaos of inflation, unemployment and relocation schemes, not to mention the busywork of signing petitions and campaigning for elections.

There are signs that an articulate local and regional leadership is beginning to pull



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such a network together. But the internal bickering must end, and the focus must shift from summit negotiations to local organizing once again.

Unless it happens soon, Solidarity runs the risk of being overwhelmed by its own success. □

Franek Michalski, an associate editor of *Across Frontiers*, writes on Eastern Europe.

CALENDAR

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

NEW YORK

March 20-23

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
MONDAY, MARCH 20—Activism, the Law and Disarmament. Robert Boehm. 8 p.m.
TUESDAY, MARCH 21—Seizing the Means of Production of Images. Paper Tiger Television and others TBA. 8 p.m.
THURSDAY, MARCH 23—El Salvador's Elections. Arnoldo Ramos. 8 p.m.

Unless otherwise listed, events take place at the Brecht Forum, 79 Leonard St. (five blocks below Canal, between Church and Broadway); admission is \$5. For information call (212) 941-0332.

BOSTON

March 27

"Socialism as a Practical Alternative": Panel discussion on the possibility of creating a society of free access NOW. Old Cambridge Baptist Church (dining room), 1151 Mass. Ave., Cambridge (Harvard Square), Monday, March 27, 7:30 p.m. Refreshments, free admission. World Socialist Party (U.S.), Box 405, Boston, MA 02272. (617) 628-9096.

March 30-31

WOMEN AND THE WORD. Claiming the Future: Preaching Wholeness to our Daughters and Sons. The Fifth Annual Women and the Word Preaching Event celebrating Boston University's Sesquicentennial and looking toward the next century of challenge for people of faith. Presentations by: Dr. Virginia Ramey Mollenkott and the Rev. Yolanda Pupo-Ortiz. For information contact: Anna Howard Shaw Center, Boston University School of Theology, 745 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215, (617) 353-3075.

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April 9—Radiation survivors day.
April 10—Peacemaking skills day including a non-violence training for trainers.
April 11—Peoples empowerment day.
April 12—War tax resistance day.
April 13—No first strike day.
April 14—Youth day.
April 15—"No taxation for annihilation" rally and mass action.
April 16—Caravan to Yucca Mountain; interfaith seder; Shoshone closing ceremony.
*Other workshops will be offered throughout the 10 days; for more information contact A.P.T., P.O. Box 26725, Las Vegas, NV 89126, (702) 731-9644.

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June 30-July 4

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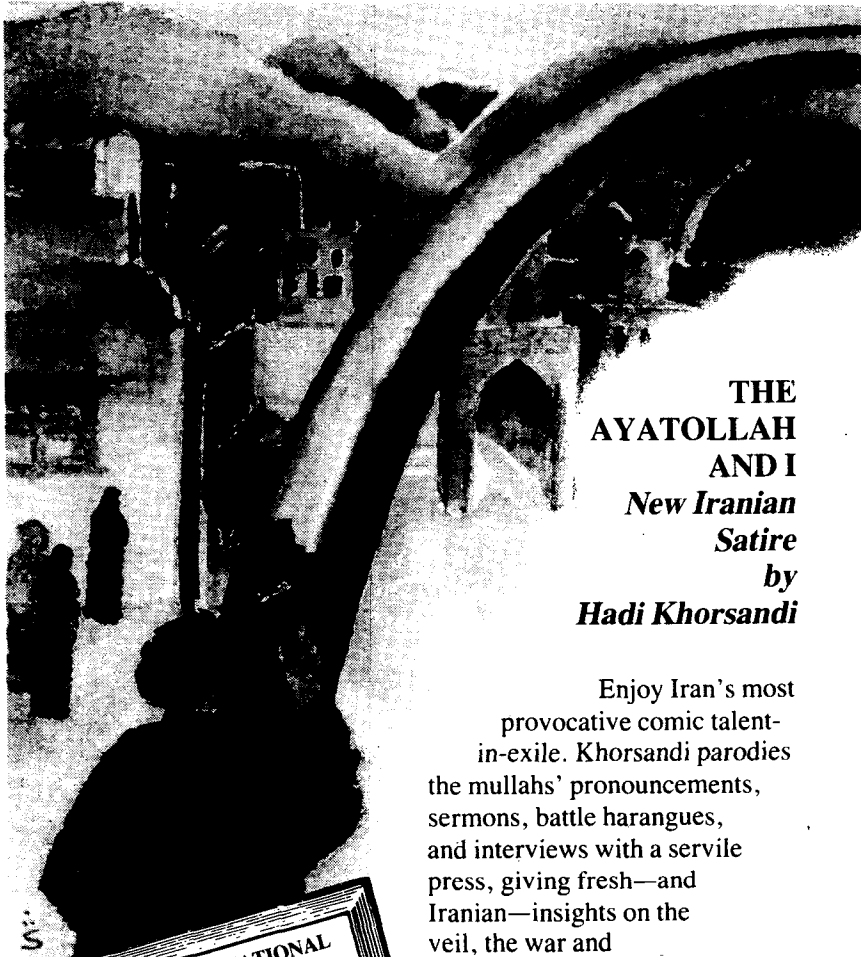
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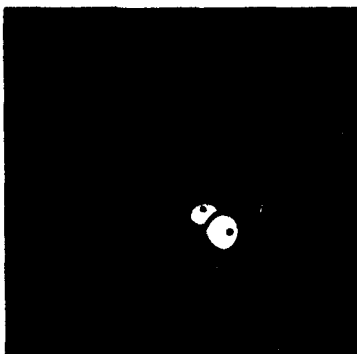
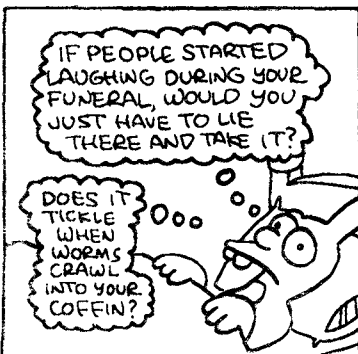
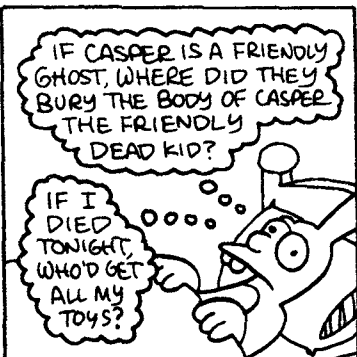
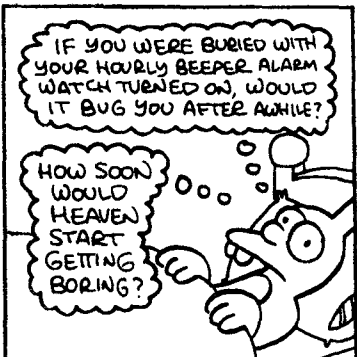
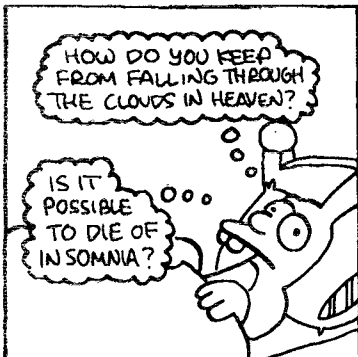
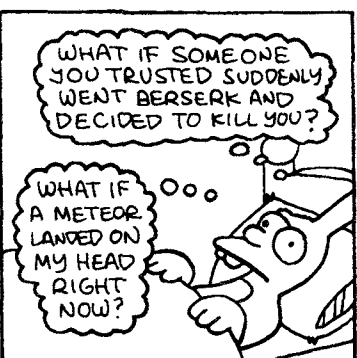
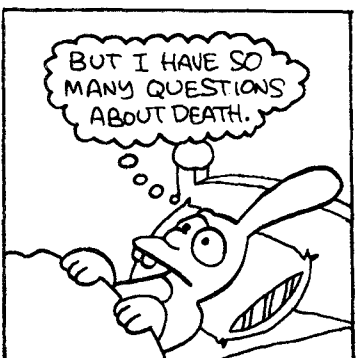
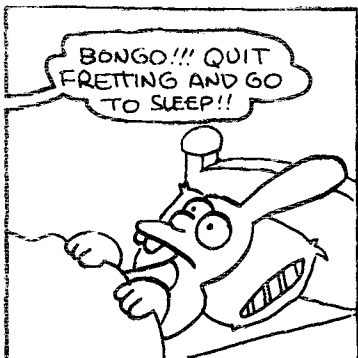
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LIFE IN HELL

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GREENING



LUISA'S

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By David Volpendesta



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TO FULLY ENTER the imaginative world of Argentine writer Luisa Valenzuela one must be prepared to slip through the minuscule aperture that separates the conscious from the unconscious mind, and also accept the possibility that any dichotomy between them is artificial.

If this notion seems paradoxical, it is only because paradox provides the most reliable coordinates by which to situate oneself in relation to the literary landscape Valenzuela inhabits. There, in an often swirling fugue of obsessive images, black humor, psychosexual gender transformations and atmospheres of almost ineffable political terror, it's not uncommon for pleasant waking dreams to suddenly evaporate into screeching nightmares.

At a glance, nothing of Valenzuela's external comportment intimates the psychological quicksand that often appears in the landscapes of her stories and novels—except her eyes. Intense yet relaxed beneath her raven-black, curly hair, they seem endowed with the cool serenity of a gaze capable of piercing the depths of hell. At least that's the way they appeared to this writer when she sat down on the patio outside her room of the French Hotel in Berkeley.

Valenzuela's childhood in Buenos Aires nurtured her artistic sensibilities. Speaking about her mother, Luisa Mercedes Levinson, a well-known Argentine writer who at times wrote short stories in collaboration with Jorge Luis Borges, she reflected: "I was fascinated by her work and all the writers who were around the house. Those were very repressive times, during the first Peronist regime. I never thought I'd be a writer. I thought I'd be a painter. But one day I decided to write a story just to prove it wasn't that difficult. That was it. I kept on writing."

Surreal thing: Written when she was 17, the title of that story, "City of the Un-

known," augured a recurrent theme, which like a thread binds all her stories and novels together: the furtive and often deceitful mysteries of the internal world. Her current book, *Open Door* (North Point Press), derives its title from, in her words, "the name of the most traditional, least threatening lunatic asylum in Argentina." It also includes "City of the Unknown" in which she writes: "My life doesn't have much to do with fantasy, not even science fiction.... I first discovered the city in my dreams; later I looked for it where I had dreamed it."

On the surface that passage could easily be identified with the literary style of French surrealism. And although some North American critics have categorized her work as surrealist, Valenzuela takes umbrage at their perceptions: "I deny there is anything surrealist in my literature or, for that matter, in Latin American literature," she exclaimed. "We are magical realists. But what did influence my writing is pataphysics, and pataphysics is concerned with seeing the reality that is *supplementary* to this one. The feeling I have is that what we see is the largest panorama of reality. We see things that are not evident to the everyday person who is hooked into practical things.

"Magical realism, which sees the marvel of the real, is really seeing the real with another eye. But it is the real. Surrealists try to put together things that don't belong together when they do automatic writing, when they put the sewing machine and the umbrella on the operating table. The surrealists try to force the unconscious to make associations. To make associations that mean nothing."

One meaningful association often made about modern Latin American literature that is applicable to Valenzuela's writing is the tendency to fuse magical realism with

WHETHER
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REAL MAGICISM,
ARGENTINE WRITER
LUISA VALENZUELA'S
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IS PARADOX.

political realism. For Valenzuela this fusion comes naturally because it's organic to her personal experience. In 1977, while still living in Argentina under the military dictatorship and aware that writers were being censored and "disappeared" (although this was denied by the government), she refrained from publishing her novella *Other Weapons* because it spoke about the torture and oppression.

Murder's chilling effect: That same year her friend, Argentine writer Rodolfo Walsh, whom she has described in a March 16, 1986, essay in the *New York Times Book Review* as having written "some of the most dazzling short stories in the Spanish language" was murdered as he was delivering one of his "polemic letters" to a newspaper. According to Valenzuela, "The letter maintained that the Triple A, the name of the murderous Anti-Communist Association of Argentina, actually stood for the three branches of the armed forces."

In 1979, as the violence in Argentina

escalated and she realized she could neither fight back nor speak out due to censorship and the overall intensity of the repression, she moved to New York. Three years later her novel *The Lizard's Tail*, which couldn't be published in Argentina because it "offered a mythicized and damning version of recent Argentine history," was published in English in the U.S.

In that novel, which centers around the exploits of Lopez Rega, an adviser to Isabel Peron, Valenzuela's imagination penetrated into realms where the parallel lines of occult and political reality intersect. "There were many things we knew about him [Lopez Rega]," she said. "He was involved in black magic, and he had published books on the spirits of Venus and perfumes and all that. And people were telling stories of his trying to resurrect [Juan] Peron [from the dead]."

"From then on I invented (the third testicle and all that), I invented like crazy. And funny enough, reality caught up with me. It was even more bizarre, and many of the things were premonitory."

Realm of the censors: Valenzuela's current book offers ample evidence that she's equally adroit dealing with contemporary or timeless realities. "The Censors," the first story in *Open Door*, revolved around Juan, a censor who works for a nameless government. Led to his occupation by his fear of being censored, he pursues his task with zeal until, through an ironic twist of fate, he's forced to censor himself and is in turn executed.

Written in Valenzuela's characteristic minimalist style and operating on a number of levels, one of which is the internal censorship people unconsciously impose on themselves, it is an excellent example of her ability to probe those diabolical realms of the mind where the individual and the institutional perversion of political power intersect and mutually reinforce and perpetuate the totalitarian state.

Central to Valenzuela's ability to see beyond the illusions and self-delusions of despots is her understanding of the subconscious as a language, and her knowledge of how that language translates into ideology and the affairs of everyday life. Moreover, because her work is so intimately entwined with the dream state, she's careful not to reify that level of consciousness into a series of abstract and aesthetic postures divorced from the dynamics of sociopolitical reality. Rather, she insists on decoding the symbols through which dreams communicate in order to comprehend what the dream is saying.

Often, as in the novel she's recently completed, *Crime of the Other*, the language of dreams is a cacophony of sounds echoing in the darkest whispers of the soul. One listens to this primal language and translates it into linguistic concepts at a great risk, because in the process of making this language comprehensible, there comes an epiphanic moment in which the membrane between the conscious and unconscious mind is ruptured. At this juncture, given the subtle undertows of Valenzuela's imagination, one is rewarded with insights into both the self and the forces that consciously attempt to dominate the world and transform its citizens into unconscious consumers of their own misery. ■

David Volpendesta is co-editor of the recently published collection of Central American short stories, *Clamor of Innocence* (City Lights), and the forthcoming *Homeless, Not Helpless* (Canterbury Press).